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ABSTRACT

The aim of this investigation is to report on the perceptions and attitudes of a special group of residents toward voluntary urban relocation. Using respondents from two Model Cities neighborhoods in Houston, Texas, the survey focuses on specific socioeconomic variables such as income, education, occupation, employment status, family size, and age. In addition, the study explores attitudes and perceptions toward particular forms of public housing, namely, Section 235 and Section 236 of the National Housing Act, attitudes toward their community, attitudes toward voluntary urban relocation, and general information concerning relocation policies and procedures. When appropriate, trends as seen in the relationship of variables are noted and analyzed in terms of their overall implications. In this study, the problem of voluntary urban relocation and its many manifestations, as revealed through the perceptions and attitudes of a random sample of low-to-moderate income persons living in selected areas of Houston, is explored. The instrument of investigation was an interview schedule with questions on particular areas of concern. The interview schedule was divided into two parts. The first part sought answers to questions on the socioeconomic status of the respondents; the second, on resident attitudes toward voluntary urban relocation and select types of public housing. (Author/JM)

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VOLUNTARY URBAN RELOCATION

An Ecological and Attitudinal Study of a Housing Alternative

A Report Prepared for

The Houston-Galveston Area Council

by

Naomi W. Ledé

Director of Research for Urban Resources Center
and Assistant Professor of Urban Affairs
Texas Southern University

August, 1973

UD 016 603

This Report is based on the research work completed by work-study students in a HUD-sponsored internship program under the supervision of the Houston-Galveston Area Council of Governments.

ABSTRACT

VOLUNTARY URBAN RELOCATION

BY NAOMI W. LEDE
Prepared for the Houston-
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The aim of this investigation is to report on the perceptions and attitudes of a special group of residents toward voluntary urban relocation. Using respondents from the Model Cities neighborhoods in Houston, Texas, the survey focuses on specific socio-economic variables, such as income, education, occupation, employment status, family size, and age. In addition to these descriptive variables, the study explores attitudes and perceptions toward particular forms of public housing, namely, Section 235 and Section 236 of the National Housing Act; attitudes toward their community; attitudes toward voluntary urban relocation; and general information concerning relocation policies and procedures. When appropriate, trends as seen in the relationship of variables are noted and analyzed in terms of their overall implications.

In this study, we explore the problem of voluntary urban relocation and its many manifestations as revealed through the perceptions and attitudes of a random sample of low-to-moderate income persons living in select areas of Houston.

URBAN RESOURCES CENTER STAFF

ADMINISTRATIVE

Hortense W. Dixon, Director
Naomi W. Ledé, Director of Research
Kathryn A. Goode, Research Associate

SECRETARIAL-CLERICAL

Ruby V. Jones
Willie R. Rider
Deloris M. Gray
Barbara A. Smart

URBAN INTERNS

Gwendolyn M. Bookman
Birdie N. Burch
Joan B. Edwards
Dianne M. Evans
Anne R. Harris
Samuel E. McCloud
William Miller
James H. Norman, Jr.
Barbara D. Scott
James M. Spigner

PREFACE

This study explores a key element in housing development and urban renewal activities in a large urban area. It focuses on the concept of relocation in assessing attitudes toward improvement in housing conditions among citizens of low-to-moderate income groups.

The consequence of forced relocation are fairly well known. A review of some of the community renewal projects in recent years suggests that relocated families often achieve only marginal improvements in their housing, at the cost of higher rent payments. Many persons move from one slum to another because of their extreme distaste for public housing. Larger families experience more difficulty in relocating than smaller ones; and, to paraphrase Peter Marris in A Report On Urban Renewal Activities in the United States, urban renewal "has done as much to worsen as to solve the social problems of the families displaced."

The process of forced relocation, in most cases, has been a highly disruptive and disturbing experience to all residents exposed to it. To understand fully the effects of relocation and the significance of the loss of a sense of place--of residential environment; and of the individual's sense of continuity requires a deeper examination of the nature of this urban concept. There is need to explore certain psychological implications of dual urban phenomena: the social and spatial aspects of

residential experience; and the attitudes and perceptions of the persons involved concerning types of housing preferred in general and reactions to federally-subsidized housing in particular. Through an exploratory and imaginative design, we attempted to collect and analyze meaningful data related to the concept of "voluntary urban relocation," and we have treated it as a focal consideration in formulating alternatives to existing community renewal procedures.

The whole question of voluntary urban relocation is a relatively new phenomenon in federally-subsidized housing and planning. Included in this study are residents who are socially and economically able to afford better housing. Concurrently, others in the study are financially and socially deprived; but each categorical shade, as given, represents a part of Houston's urban society. The existence of these socio-economic extremes; the continuation of the cancerous ills of urban sprawl and urban blight; the creation and perpetuation of ghetto housing conditions--whether real or imaginary--are circumstantial situations which pose dangers for the entire Houston community. It is hoped that the exploratory work which is presented in this report will open new vistas for consideration in alternative housing planning.

The materials included in this report represent the culmination of a cooperative research activity involving a state and a regional planning agency. The Houston-Galveston Area Council of Governments first pointed out the need for a comprehensive investigation on the subject of

federally-subsidized housing. This regional agency provided staff support for the project through its urban internship program, sponsored and funded by the Department of Housing and Urban Development. The graduate internship program participants were: Lester Simon and Lankford Bolling of Texas Southern University; Bernadine Lewis, Veronica Brown, and Joan Lewis of Prairie View A. and M. College. These graduate students in Sociology and Urban Community Development completed most of the interviews for the survey.

The final publication of this report represents a truly joint effort. Initial planning for the study began early in January, 1973, after several meetings with Charles Trost, director of Planning for the Houston-Galveston Area Council of Governments. Mr. Trost was interested in exploring in depth the attitudes and perceptions about better housing and community renewal of persons living in certain designated areas of the city. Dr. Hortense W. Dixon, director of the Urban Resources Center in Texas Southern University, suggested that H-GAC and TSU co-sponsor a study on low-cost housing. With these suggestions in mind, I later decided that a special emphasis be placed on the concept of housing and "voluntary urban relocation." As editor and chief researcher for the report, I have benefitted from the suggestions and special assistance provided by these two professionals.

Other contributors to the study included: Kathryn A. Goode, administrative assistant at the Urban Resources Center, who assisted in data

analysis and supervised the typing of all drafts of the report; Systems Director, Joe Pyle, of the Houston-Galveston Area Council carefully directed all computer tabulations of data for the report; and graduate students enrolled in my Urban Research course in Texas Southern University gave significant aid in the form of field enumeration when it appeared that we would not meet the deadline for final collection of raw data. The merits of the report rest with these individuals, and to each we owe our sincere thanks.

Urban Resources Center
Texas Southern University
Houston, Texas 77004
August, 1973

Naomi W. Ledé
Assistant Professor of Urban Affairs
and Director of Research for URC

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I. INTRODUCTION

For many years, the Federal Housing Administration has pursued urban renewal policies and programs in efforts to rebuild communities and to provide decent housing for citizens throughout the country. The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), parent of the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), has made grants to localities for community renewal programs. The development of community renewal programs has invariably led to relocation activities and displacement for many slum area residents.

The themes in the redevelopment process set in motion by urban renewal programs run the gamut--from overcoming the accumulated deterioration and obsolescence of the city's physical plant resulting from neglect to arresting the forces which cause blight to improving the environment and general plight of the urban poor. Despite the themes, objectives, and goals advanced through verbal and published guidelines for urban renewal programs, some evaluative and exploratory studies have presented evidence to suggest that programs have been spotty, sporadic, and, at best, ineffective.

THE PROBLEM

The aim of this investigation is to report on the perceptions and attitudes of a special group of residents toward voluntary urban relocation.

Using respondents from the Model Cities neighborhoods in Houston, Texas, the survey focuses on specific socio-economic variables, such as income, education, occupation, employment status, family size, and age. In addition to these descriptive variables, the study explores attitudes and perceptions toward particular forms of public housing, namely, Section 235 and Section 236 of the National Housing Act; attitudes toward voluntary urban relocation; attitudes toward their community; and general information concerning relocation policies and procedures. When appropriate, trends as seen in the relationship of variables are noted and analyzed in terms of their overall implications.

In this study, we explore the problem of voluntary urban relocation and its many manifestations as revealed through the perceptions and attitudes of a random sample of low-to-moderate income persons living in select areas of Houston.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Several objectives guided this investigation. These include the following:

1. To gather information on a pilot basis relating to the attitudes of urban low-to-moderate income residents living in the Model Cities Neighborhoods of Houston toward voluntary urban relocation, urban renewal in general, so as to provide planning data for the Houston-Galveston Area Council of Governments.

2. To inform residents of housing alternatives and opportunities (including the Section 235-236 programs) and to conduct a

follow-up on these persons to measure social attitudes over a specified period of time.

3. To identify critical social factors--such as income, education, occupation, employment status; key psychological factors, such as social attitudes, perceptions of respondents concerning urban renewal and voluntary urban relocation; and other attitudes that would hinder or foster the success of various types of community renewal programs.

STUDY DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

As a pilot study, the research procedure and design involved several emphases. The aim of the study was to gain preliminary information on the areas under study. Attempts were also made to determine the feasibility of gaining comprehensive housing data on a wider scale through a careful analysis of the information gained during the pilot phase.

The instrument of investigation was an interview schedule with questions on particular areas of concern. The interview schedule was divided into two parts. The first part sought answers to questions on the socio-economic status of the respondents; the second, on resident attitudes toward voluntary urban relocation and select types of public housing.

Two of the largest Model Cities Neighborhoods were chosen at random for the study area. Residents in these areas were randomly selected according to a pre-established method which insured a broad representation of residents in each of the areas chosen. Household heads were used as

respondents. A sample cover sheet was used to establish respondent eligibility. Age, name, marital status, and relationship to head of household were variables used to delineate eligible respondents. This method of stratified random selection has its justification in the fact that decisions concerning relocation and home ownership and preferences coupled with the level of economic capability of household heads were considered vital to the aim of the study and the reliability of the data obtained.

The interview schedule contained only questions considered capable of eliciting meaningful responses to the overall problem, namely: What are the attitudes of low-to-moderate income residents concerning voluntary urban relocation? What are the characteristics of these residents? What are the attitudes of the respondents toward 235-236 public housing? The perceptions of the respondents were sought through several types of questions: open-ended questions to permit free expression of attitudes toward urban renewal and voluntary urban relocation; multiple choice questions scaled on a continuum; and general questions designed to elicit basic socio-economic and demographic information.

Over 300 interviews were conducted during the period of March 1 through May 1, 1973. The interviewers were graduate students in Sociology and Urban Community Development in Texas Southern University and Prairie View A. and M. College. The study supervisors included two urban interns from Texas Southern University who were working with the Houston-Galveston Area Council of Governments under the HUD-sponsored internship program.

The forty interviewers were trained prior to the field enumeration phase. Each interview was conducted in depth and lasted an average of about forty-five minutes. The interviews followed a carefully designed schedule which had been pre-tested and revised to include only inquiries best able to draw significant responses on the problem to be tested.

Since many open-ended questions were used in the study, we had to carefully code these items into a variety of categories. This permitted us to make cross tabulations with social, economic, and attitudinal variables. The analysis of the attitudinal responses was done by cross-comparison with a number of other variables, particularly those concerning the economic status of the respondents. A copy of the interview schedule is included in the Appendices.

AN OVERVIEW OF RELATED STUDIES

One noted critic of urban renewal reviews several proposals which he considers to be failures. Gans warns that a solution lies not so much in repealing urban renewal, but more in transforming it from a program of slum clearance and rehabilitation into a program of urban re-housing.[1] The author is not alone in his criticism of renewal programs sponsored by both federal and local authorities. In recent years some city planners, urbanologists, and other experts in housing have persistently

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[1]Herbert J. Gans, People and Plans (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1965).

warned that urban renewal programs are not achieving the goals for which they were established and funded.

Studies of individual renewal projects tend to add credence to these contentions. Jacobs, a noted author on problems of cities, severely criticized slum clearance. Joining Jacobs and others in their criticism are researchers Abrams and Greer. In their comprehensive studies of urban renewal efforts, Lilley and Clark charge that the Department of Housing and Urban Development has not only failed in its rehabilitation efforts, but that the agency is facing the prospect of becoming, against its will, "the largest owner of housing in a number of cities--dilapidated housing which it must assume because FHA-insurance mortgages are in default . . . " Added to the list of critics of HUD-sponsored renewal programs is Martin Anderson whose book, The Federal Bulldozer, was based on statistics accumulated from data compiled by the Urban Renewal Administration.[2] Though not completely negative in its entirety, a substantial amount of literature on urban renewal efforts in cities is critical of HUD programs in this regard. The agency's programs designed to allow poor people to own their homes have been largely misdirected and misused by corrupt real estate speculators and individuals who buy, sell, and build unsound and defective structures for people who can barely afford such liabilities.*

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[2]Studies reviewed in Louis K. Loewenstein, ed., Urban Studies (New York: The Free Press, 1971), pp. 367-68. For a critical review of research of relocation efforts, See: "The Housing of Relocated Families," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 30, November, 1964, pp. 266-86.

*See, for example, William Lilley, III and Timothy B. Clark, "And More Housing Problems to Come," National Journal, Vol. 4 (Jan. 1, 1972) in The American Cities. Minnesota: Winston Press, 1972, p. 152.

The result of such unscrupulous practices has been a substantial amount of abandonment of housing in cities like Detroit and Philadelphia. The problem takes on a degree of severity when repossession of housing is analyzed in terms of fiscal implications.

It should be noted that a great deal of the abandonment problem is due to tenancy rather than ownership. Lilley and Clark indicate that some housing experts argue that "the best defense against abandonment is to shift the urban dweller, especially the poor urban dweller, from tenancy to ownership."[3] In an overall sense, criticisms of existing housing programs may discourage investment by public and private sectors in similar projects. There is need to explore in depth some fundamental questions concerning community renewal programs in urban areas, their intent, and overall effectiveness.

A bulletin of the Housing and Home Finance Agency reviewed relocation efforts of the Urban Renewal Administration through June, 1960. A significant fact contained in the report was that during the first twelve years after the Housing Act of 1949, urban renewal projects had displaced about 85,000 families in almost 200 cities.[4] Peter Marris[5] gave this description of the status of the program:

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[3]William Lilley III and Timothy B. Clark, "And More Housing Problems To Come," National Journal, Vol. 4, January 1, 1972, pp. 26-33.

[4]Urban Renewal Administration, "Relocation from Urban Renewal Project Areas, Through 1960," Bulletin of Housing and Home Finance Agency, Washington, D.C., 1960.

[5]Peter Marris, "A Report of Urban Renewal in the United States," in The Urban Condition, ed. by Leonard J. Duhl (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1969), pp. 113-33.

> In scale, then, it is not a very large program; but in the range of problems to be resolved, it is one of the most searching issues of domestic policy, and reflects some of the most characteristic dilemmas of contemporary American society. Its principles are defended as an expression of the enlightened liberalism of the administration, while its practices are condemned as another sell-out to real estate speculators . . .

Continuing, Marris further states

> . . . A plan of action which was conceived as the replacement of dilapidated buildings has become deeply involved in fundamental social problems; the persistence of racial intolerance in an egalitarian democracy; the growing pressures on minorities to assimilate the values of the dominant culture; the refusal of a large scale, highly integrated society to surrender its traditional attachment to local political autonomy or to grant powers . . . wide enough to defend the public interest . . . [6]

In calling for a revision of urban renewal policies almost a decade ago, Marris concludes that "relocation has achieved little over-all improvement in the circumstances of the people displaced."[7] If his conclusions even partially approximate any degree of accuracy, the fundamental need is to discontinue the traditional practices and replace previous efforts with more innovative and, perhaps, voluntary actions of relocation.

Government encouragement of home ownership in the United States built up rapidly during the latter part of the 1960's. Bills were introduced in Congress to create national housing corporations to underwrite mortgages for low-income home owners in 1967. Congresswoman Leonor Sullivan from Missouri offered a bill that would extend the privileges of 221 (d) (3) below market rate interest mortgage assistance to families that purchased homes rehabilitated by non-profit housing corporations.

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[6] Ibid., p. 113.

[7] Ibid., p. 130.

The Sullivan measure became the 221 (h) provision of the National Housing Act. In another development, the Housing Assistance Administration in HUD attempted to develop a set of administrative measures that would have greater impact on the future direction and development of public housing. These were the "turnkey" arrangements that would permit housing authorities to contract with private, speculative developers for the development of housing either for sale or lease to a local housing authority. The acquisition of such privately developed projects was labeled as "Turnkey I." There were indications early in this program that it had some potential for success. Pursuant to this trend toward success, HUD expanded the turnkey arrangements to include regulations permitting local housing authorities to contract with private corporations for the management aspects of the projects (Turnkey II). The last phase of the turnkey arrangements involved the option to purchase the home. The arrangements for the eventual purchase of public housing units by tenants became "Turnkey III." There were some early successes of the turnkey efforts at home ownership, but the program became a nightmare for some local housing authorities. An example of this may be found in the problems experienced by the Turnkey Projects in Dallas, Texas. The larger proportion of the homes built under such arrangements were left vacant. Tenants who leased the housing found avenues to eventual purchase of the homes temporarily blocked or permanently closed to them due to certain restrictions imposed upon them. These regulations were included in contractual agreements, but many low

income persons did not understand the stipulations or failed to read the contract in its entirety at the time they agreed to move into the homes.[8]

The advent of the Federal Housing Administration's Section 235 program was promoted as the new hope for low-income home ownership. At first, public reception of the new Section 235 home ownership program was "amazing." Prior experiences had dictated that home ownership programs tended to proceed at a faster pace than rental programs. An additional perceived advantage was that the Section 235 programs were directed toward low-moderate income families, with income levels ranging from approximately $4,000 to $8,000. The program provided no funds for the construction or rehabilitation of homes. Money appropriated for the program was directed toward reducing the interest normally paid on a FHA-mortgaged loan from a private lending institution. The amount of interest rate subsidy is dependent on the level of family income, the size of the mortgage, and the prevailing interest rate on FHA-insured loans at the time the mortgage is executed. The Section 235 program had some degree of flexibility in its guidelines. For example, there was no requirement that the developer be a non-profit or dividend corporation, making it easier to attract investor interest in the type of housing.[9]

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[8]A Complete explanation of the Turnkey I, II, and III Programs is found in Byron Fielding, "Federal Housing Administration's Section 235" and "Home Ownership for Low-Income Families," Journal of Housing, No. 6, June, 1969, pp. 278-82.

[9]Ibid.

Rental and cooperative housing assistance were provided in 1968 under Section 236 of the National Housing Act. The administering agency for this program was through FHA for the purpose of insuring loans in order to reduce rent for lower income, primarily elderly or handicapped persons; priority was given to displaced persons. The terms of the program are the same as for Section 221 (d) (3) of subsidized multi-family housing. Provisions under Section 236 are reviewed in Aaron's Shelter and Subsidies, Who Benefits From Federal Housing Policies? This study "examines the distribution of benefits of Section 236 associated with six major categories of federal housing programs: implicit tax subsidies to homeowners, mortgage insurance and loan guarantees, measures to improve the flexibility of mortgage operations by lending institutions, subsidies to low income renters through low rent public housing, other subsidies to low and middle income renters and rural homeowners." Aaron concludes that the federal government should distribute benefits of housing subsidies to low and moderate income families through allowances based on the level of personal income, net worth, and local housing costs. The author warns against over-emphasis on building and renovating dwellings in relation to the improvement of other aspects of the residential environment. It is his feeling that continued practices of this sort will perpetuate discontent over inadequate housing.[10]

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[10]Henry J. Aaron, Shelter and Subsidies: Who Benefits from Federal Housing Policies? (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institute, 1972), p. vii.

A great deal of the criticism of federal housing policies and subsidies has been directed toward slum clearance, displacement, and rehabilitation. A lack of proper planning by program administrators, shaped by conflicting goals and objectives of various influential groups--including public officials--has led to charges of low income displacement. Slum clearance has meant making room for more luxury housing or middle income projects; it has meant the acquisition of inexpensive land for institutional expansion, particularly colleges and universities. The residual effects of such urban renewal efforts have been the acute shortage of standard housing for displaced slum tenants. The experimental housing programs, funded through HUD, have resulted in a form of housing assistance that incorporates physical features and ignores, in many respects, the desires and needs of individuals, who are destined to become the occupants of the structures.

For the most part, programs and policies have been void of any humanistic approach to meeting the needs of low to moderate income families. This deficiency is more clearly exemplified in inadequate feasibility studies on the attitudes, perceptions, and general socio-economic characteristics of potential residents. There has been little regard for the more substantive issues which concern a major proportion of the families in need of adequate housing. A determination of housing needs has been more on the administrative level of agencies concerned with the problem. What the people need, including an adequate assessment of their economic

capabilities, their general attitudes toward voluntary urban relocation, and other related problems have been obvious omissions on the part of planners. There is always the possibility that the lack of sufficient facts about slum residents compounds the problems and failures of urban renewal programs in efforts to help the poor and dispossessed.

Planners of urban renewal projects have been criticized for failure to recognize that some slum dwellers are not willing to participate in programs and plans of urban relocation. There is evidence that pilot and feasibility studies have failed to test the assumption that there are those living in areas in need of rehabilitation who may desire to relocate voluntarily without assistance from urban renewal agencies. Numerous studies on the satisfaction of residents living in slum areas have emerged over a period of years. A great number of the authors exploring this trend of thought have examined such variables as ego-identity and anxiety and particular values reaffirmed in the process of interaction which inhibit experiences that are considered to be particularly anxiety-provoking.[11] Fried, in his article, "Grieving for a Lost Home," places emphasis on the importance of place in discussing the nature of relocation. Acknowledging that a sense of spatial identity is fundamental to human functioning, Fried speaks of spatial and group identity as critical foci of the sense

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[11]See: Edward J. Ryan, "Personal Identity in an Urban Slum," in Duhl, op. cit., pp. 135-50; and E. H. Erikson, "The Problem of Ego-Identity," in Identity and Anxiety, ed. by Stein, Vidich, et. al. (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960), pp. 81-82.

of continuity. "This sense of continuity is not necessarily contingent on the external stability of place, people, and security . . . " He further advises that " . . . we are led to consider the convergence of familiar places as a focal consideration in formulating planning decisions."[12]

The widespread effects of relocation may vary from one resident to another. Relocation may pose problems for individuals with a high degree of attachment to the neighborhood or locale. Other persons may find it more feasible and satisfying to relocate. The latter instance would appear to maximize the opportunities for meaningful adaptation. Most studies of relocation omit any inquiry into the proportion of residents who would be willing to relocate on their own and, where information is available, little analysis is given to the needs, perceptions, attitudes, and characteristics of this select group. In our inquiry, we have devoted full attention to this group, with some comparisons of the respondents reacting negatively or positively to questions regarding voluntary relocation.

THE CONCEPT DEFINED

For sake of clarity, we make a careful distinction between what has been considered to be "forced" relocation which occurs as a result of new construction, demolition, condemnation, or rehabilitation. This kind of

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[12]Marc Fried, "Grieving For a Lost Home," in Duhl, op. cit., pp. 151-71.

forced urban relocation has many disadvantages. It apparently disrupts neighborhoods and communities, and imposes heavy personal burdens on many relocatees. Another consideration is that not all relocatees take advantage of the opportunity to obtain decent, safe, and sanitary housing within their means. An associated problem with some relocated residents is related to a kind of "self" rehabilitation where low income persons take their social problems with them when they move. It is a kind of "slum transplantation," and conditions in their physical and social worlds are not improved when they are relocated. Instead, the slum existence continues in the new environment.

Voluntary urban relocation takes on a different meaning. It provides the opportunity for slum residents or individuals with moderate incomes to make personal decisions concerning their plight. The concept of voluntary urban relocation is predicated on the assumption that the dimensions of human demand and need must carry with them the opportunity for the individual to test his own capacity for making decisions regarding life and a sense of place. Voluntary urban relocation offers an alternative policy for effecting residential renewal. Once the voluntary step is taken, renewal treatment--a combination of private and public action--can be applied to foster neighborhood improvement and stability.

In the following chapter summarized characteristics of the survey population will be introduced. Observations and implications will be noted in relation to the principal findings of the study. Brief recommendations will be made as warranted by the summary findings.

II. SUMMARY CHARACTERISTICS OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS

Basic socio-economic characteristics under the analysis headings of age group, educational attainment, overcrowdedness, employment, income, occupation, and number in family vary among the sample population. However, the variation is within such tolerably consistent limits as to warrant that some attention be devoted to common threads and summary data about the respondents in the study.

AGE (1)

The predominant age group included in the survey was that between 30-39 years; with about 60 percent of the group having from 2-4 children in family; about 34 percent having at least one child; and less than 10 percent having five children or more.

EDUCATION (2)

The survey indicated that the educational attainment of the respondents, on an average, may be described in hypothetical and actual terms, as follows:

- The higher the education, the smaller the family size. 43 percent of all respondents having five children or more had less than a high school education; 36 percent of this same group were high school graduates, while less than one-fourth or 21.3 percent had some college training or above.

  On the other hand, over 75 percent of the respondents with one child in family had training at the high school level or above. Table I-A in the Appendices contains data on education and the number of children in family.

- For the total sample population, about 13 percent had an educational attainment of eight years or less; 21 percent had received some high school training; approximately 30 percent of the respondents were high school graduates; 15 percent attended

college at some time; 8 percent were college graduates without additional training beyond the bachelor's degree level; while 8 percent finished college and pursued other training, with less than 5 percent indicating that they had some technical and other professional training.

- A correlation of family income with education reveals rather common patterns. 63 percent of all respondents in the "Under $2,000" annual income category had less than a high school education; a little less than one-fourth were high school graduates; almost 10 percent had some college training; and less than 3 percent graduated from college.

  In contrast, figures in the "$10,000 and Over" income category show 92 percent of this group as high school graduates; with 50 percent of this group being classified as having graduated from college, and a little over 10 percent having some technical or other professional training.

OVERCROWDING (3)

A little over 50 percent of the respondents were sharing accommodations, frequently an apartment in a multi-family dwelling or large size homes (four to five bedrooms) classified as single-family structures.

EMPLOYMENT (4)

Approximately 62 percent of the total respondents had regular work and less than 26 percent were unemployed, with a small proportion being classified as "retired." The percentage of unemployment among the respondents can accurately be estimated as from two to three times higher than that for the total population as a whole. The rate of unemployment among blacks is exceedingly higher at certain periods, with some fluctuations in the more highly delineated areas of black concentration such as Fifth Ward and Acres Home.

INCOME (5)

Only about 15 percent of the survey group had incomes of $10,000 or more. The greater concentration of respondents is found in the $4,000 to $9,999 income category. The income figures represent the annual salary of the "Head of Household." <u>It does not include total household income</u>. In most of the families at least two persons were employed and more accurate data would yield some differentials as related to total income of household heads and the income of household heads and the income of other family members and relatives.

If the data for the latter groups were added to the figures given here, it would yield--in most cases--a 50 percent increase in household income.

These data suggest that a greater proportion of the group would probably meet eligibility requirements for low and moderate cost housing.

OCCUPATION (6)

A little over 18 percent of the total employed worked in professional, technical, or kindred occupations; over 4 percent were in business, managerial or proprietary occupations; about 7 percent in clerical or sales; less than 10 percent as craftsmen or foremen; with over 20 percent working in unskilled occupations; and about 26 percent unemployed.

PRINCIPAL FINDINGS OF THE SURVEY

Some of the principal findings of the survey follow:

1. Renters are more likely to relocate than homeowners; older persons are most likely to be reluctant to move because of strong feelings of insecurity and a general attachment to the neighborhood. Sentiment and symbolism are ecological variables which clearly surface in the analysis of attitudes of homeowners and the elderly toward voluntary urban relocation.

2. The younger the homeowner the more likely he is to sell and relocate on his own. The higher the income of household heads in the 30-39 age group, the more favorable are the attitudes toward voluntary urban relocation.

3. From narrative responses we found that stability in employment and expectations of promotions and increasing income are related, in some way, with plans to move or relocate.

4. Though not unusual, the aspiration to buy a home (as revealed through anecdotal responses) is more prevalent among women than men.

5. Low income persons living in dilapidated, privately-owned dwellings and the aged are most favorable toward public housing.

In the former case, residents expressed insecure feelings because of their incomes compared with the rising cost of housing despite their hopes for better living arrangements; in the latter case, the insecurity of old age, attachment to neighborhood and, in some cases, family and friendship ties are variables which intersect and probably affect attitudes toward relocation.

6. Provisions for Section 235 housing (single-family type) are more appealing to residents than the Section 236 multi-family dwellings. The elderly responded more positively to 236 plans than others.

7. Public housing apparently has become stigmatized by the acts of some unscrupulous builders and developers; by inadequate publicity. In a general way, the respondents equate housing under Section 236 with low-rent public housing. Public housing is perceived as a place where the lower classes live; as a ghetto or potential slum for the less fortunate and, indeed, racial or ethnic minorities.

8. In a general but subtle way, most respondents expressed a willingness to relocate voluntarily. A forecast of the typical person in favor of voluntary urban relocation is an adult household head between the ages of 30-39 who has lived in Houston five years or more; has some college training; is employed in a professional occupation but more likely a skilled trade; has an average family size of four; and is currently renting a house or an apartment in the Third Ward area.

9. A heterogeneous mixture of persons of varied socio-economic status could yield positive benefits for New Town planning, rehabilitation or community renewal efforts. The bulk of the residents have children; and, concern for their children appears to be a predominant issue in their consideration of housing, implying indirectly that they have special needs and problems which should be noted and emphasized in any relocation efforts.

10. Homeowners are more positively-oriented to redevelopment; less prone to any consideration of demolition, abandonment, and relocation. In an overall sense, however, a majority of the survey group expressed strong-to-moderate attitudes toward "voluntary urban relocation," with the greater proportion of the respondents being renters.

OBSERVATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The broad conceptual basis for a rehabilitation or relocation approach rests with the questions of how change can successfully be introduced into a locality in an orderly fashion, with a minimum disruption of the area as a socio-ecological system; and, how neighborhood organizations and residents can effectively be involved in planning and implementation. Community renewal or residential relocation is not an easy task to pursue. Urban relocation carries with it some disruption; and community renewal means some intervention by government and municipal bodies in the process of urban change. James Q. Wilson reminds us that most neighborhoods in need of renewal are not populated by middle income citizens. To the contrary, there is a predominance of low-income persons occupying areas in need of rehabilitation. They are more often black sections occupied by persons least likely to have the time perspective or the concrete experiences to initiate meaningful programs of citizen participation. Wilson offers this observation

> The view which a neighborhood is likely to take on urban renewal, then, is in great part a product of its class composition. Upper and upper middle class people are more likely to think in terms of general plans . . . long-term benefits; lower and lower middle class people are more likely to see such matters in terms of specific threats and short-term costs . . . [13]

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[13] James Q. Wilson, "Planning and Politics: Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 29, No. 4, November, 1973, pp. 242-49.

In our survey of community attitudes in select neighborhoods of Houston, we found a diverse mixture of income classes in the sample area. Evidence of attitudinal variations tends to support the Wilson hypothesis.

There are several brief observations and implications in conclusion:

1) The community development process differs, in many respects, from the planning process. Direction and commitment by area residents to community involvement and decision-making would be essential to community renewal and urban relocation. Deliberate planning by residents in concert with governmental officials, accelerated by the growth of neighborhood organizational strength, can induce low-to-moderate income residents to respond more effectively to problems confronting their community. The greater the need for rehabilitation, the greater must be the organization of area residents for implementation of plan proposals.

2) Accurate information on federally-subsidized housing programs, disseminated through various communications media, would greatly enhance participation in housing programs under the provisions set forth in Sections 235-236 of the National Housing Act.

3) Voluntary urban relocation and neighborhood improvement, like all complex programs, will require multi-dimensional planning by public and private concerns. The process will require substantial involvement by community residents in the plan preparation and implementation of programs for better housing. These combined efforts will necessarily require a highly interrelated sequence of staging, of public and private initiative,

of commitment to a concept of a "decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family"--for every Houston family.

4) Some housing rehabilitation is possible where there is a high degree of home ownership. Many of the older dwellings are well maintained despite their age. A program that combines relocation and stresses diverse and scattered small-scale redevelopment would be most appealing for the Third Ward area. This multi-pronged alternative offers residents, particularly the elderly, the opportunity to remain in the neighborhood following demolition of substandard housing--the present havens for low-income renters.

5) A mixture of income levels, with rent subsidies of varying amounts, would be more encouraging to persons living in the Third Ward area of Houston or areas similar in characteristics in other parts of the City. If private builders or public-initiated housing programs could guarantee some diversity in residential make-up for any newly developed sections or towns, greater success could probably be gained. Some experience has shown that when persons with similar problems and similar socio-economic status are placed in close proximity, the results can lead to the creation of "new slums" and the kind of collective expressions which give rise to greater anxiety and stress. Socio-economic diversity in residential areas may raise levels of aspiration and induce greater motivation on the part of the less fortunate residents living in the neighborhoods.

6) Exemptions from increases in property assessments for home improvements would provide a necessary incentive for redevelopment or

rehabilitation purposes. For instance, the City could seek an amendment to its Municipal Taxation Act whereby provisions could be made for tax exemptions on home improvements under certain circumstances. Illustrative examples of the circumstances might be as follows:

A. That the building be a single family dwelling, occupied by the owner of the property.

B. That the building must have been constructed before 1952.

C. That the exemption be available only when the work has been carried out under a Building Permit.

D. That the building conforms to development control guidelines drawn up jointly by federal, state, and local officials.

E. That the tax exemption should be for a minimum period of five years from the data of issuance of the Building Permit, on the basis that this would enable a majority of owners who can obtain home improvement loans to fully repay these before being faced with an additional tax burden.

It is proposed that the observations and suggestions given here be studied as possible alternatives to the current housing crisis in Houston, particularly the Third Ward area of Houston. It should be noted that the co-authors of this report are not endorsing any of the ideas presented here. Instead, the study offers only the possible alternatives which appear to be dictated by the findings of the survey.

RECOMMENDATIONS

For all practical purposes, it is recommended that a very comprehensive examination of housing conditions in low and moderate income

neighborhoods in Houston be undertaken. Neighborhood profiles should be developed for the exclusive purpose of initiating a program of community improvement based on an analysis of both quantitative and qualitative needs. Additional information should also be sought so that more detailed data can be collected concerning voluntary urban relocation as a reasonable community renewal alternative.

It is further recommended that a complete review of housing policies and programs in Houston, parts of Harris County, and contiguous counties in the region be made with the aim of coordinating efforts; with the intent of rectifying any faults in the design and quality of housing currently being built under federal subsidized plans.

Finally, it would be advisable if consideration would be given to the establishment of a Housing Department within the City Administration or a regional agency such as the Houston-Galveston Area Council with responsible neighborhood representation, that would coordinate housing activities at both the municipal and regional level.

III. THE BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION OF THE COMMUNITY

Preceding sections contain a review of pertinent studies on urban renewal in American cities and the dilemma of slum clearance and relocation. In our effort to provide insight into attitudes and perceptions regarding the phenomenon of voluntary urban relocation, we have looked at the central city and its functional relationship to the metropolitan community of Houston and parts of Harris County.

A brief background of communities in Houston and information on the sample area is presented here, with particular reference to central city deterioration and the ecological concepts of invasion and succession. The intent of this presentation is to provide the reader with some understanding of trends toward high density development and neighborhood deterioration. Considerable stress is placed on the description of the area and an overview of the environment or the general locale in which the respondents of the study live.

The substance of this report is firmly entrenched in the attitudes and perceptions of the respondents elicited through scheduled interviews. We systematically collected the reactions of a representative group of low income to moderate income persons toward a particular type of public housing. Additional information was gathered on their attitudes concerning "voluntary urban relocation" as opposed to "forced" relocation which

results from demolition, highway construction, and general community renewal efforts.

DESCRIPTION OF COMMUNITY

Over the years, Houston has grown up with an identifiable character of its own. Houston, like many cities of comparable size, has experienced kaleidoscopic changes in its physical and social make-up. The City is really like a "chambered nautilus" or a multi-pronged human creation subject to internal political, economic, social, and physical decay. In describing the essential character of Houston, one writer noted that "you see only the newest layers first and have to peel deeper to get to the oldest social levels, some of them so small and enclosed that the newcomer may never know they exist."[14] For all this, the City in total expression has been described as reflecting the multiple character of the residents in each community; the collective needs and aspirations of segments of the larger population; and the composite functions of institutional agencies and services.

A myriad of urban problems, social balances and imbalances of the City can be diagnosed, measured, and included as variables associated with the circulatory processes of Houston society. Urban life is intertwined

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[14]See: George Fuermann, Houston: Land of Big Rich (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1951), p. 53.

with a viable social strata and other forces of economic motivation and deprivation. The social strata parallel rather sharply class divisions reinforced by the socio-economic characteristics of occupants of the various areas.

Discounting any meaning to the historical ward-divisions for Houston, Fuermann demographically categorized the City by dividing it into quarters.[15] The four distinctions used include: the Factory, the Woodland, the Garden, and the Backyard. The Factory quarters include the area around the Port of Houston and the Houston Ship Channel, a strictly business district--refineries, chemical plants, and steel. The woodland consists of Houston west of Main Street and north of Buffalo Bayou to Post Oak, then north of the Katy Freeway. The area is described as checkerboard composed of beautiful homes, arching trees, a grubby shanty atmosphere influenced by the presence of railroad tracks and bright new subdivisions. The boundaries stretch to include the old Heights Area. Garden Oaks, Oak Forest, and Spring Branch are included in the Woodland quarter, as described by Fuermann.

The Garden, another quarter, is shown visitors to the City when they leave the skyscrapers. The residents of the Garden are considered to be among the most influential and wealthy citizens of Houston. Various cultural and social functions are concentrated in museums, theatres, parks, and other institutions along streets in the vicinity. River Oaks, Tanglewood,

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[15] Ibid.

Broad Acres, Tall Timbers (immediately adjacent to River Oaks), the Memorial Area, Bellaire, Meyerland, and Sharpstown--although more middle class than upper class--are areas which round out the pool of extensive sections which are "subject to more than the usual degree of urban class distinctions."[16] With minor exceptions, it should be noted that areas included in the boundaries of the "Garden" are the most segregated in terms of race, except for, perhaps, the Montrose area. The Montrose area has been caught in the cycle of urban decay, and is badly in need of restoration.

The final quarter of Houston's residential, industrial, and commercial sections is what Fuermann called the "Backyard." This is the section of Houston which comprises our primary sampling area. The heterogeneous and diverse mixture of business establishments and social-cultural entertainment establishments impinge upon the residential sections in the area. Despite the heterogeneity evident in land use, the Third Ward area is almost totally racially homogeneous, except for isolated pockets and adjoining property near the University of Houston. The Third Ward section of Houston and other parts of what is referred to as the Backyard lies east of Main street and south of the Gulf Freeway. Old Spanish Trail, a main thoroughfare, splits the area in one direction; it is split in another direction by Almeda, Chocolate Bayou, and Telephone Road. On the western

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[16] Ibid., pp. 51-55.

edge is a smaller high-cost area which includes a medical complex, high-rise luxury apartments, parks, and a zoo.

Two major universities are located in Third Ward or Houston's Backyard. Old and luxurious homes are still a part of this section, including Riverside Terrace and the older subdivisions: Foster Place, Mac Gregor Place, and Garden Villas. South Park and Crestmont Park, once predominantly white areas, have experienced almost complete ecological and racial transformation since the last decade. Riverside Terrace, a hugh area formerly occupied by the white middle class, is now occupied by the old and established black upper middle class.

The changes in land use in the predominantly black areas of Houston's central city have resulted in a redistribution of population, a redistribution of service institutions, and of industry which have, indeed, left the political arm of the inner city with diverse problems including housing deterioration, increasing segregation of racial minorities, erosion of neighborhood and community concensus, and an eroding tax base in the face of mounting costs for city services. As the middle income population of Houston's central city became diffused throughout the county and surrounding areas, residential enclaves sprang up and became rather rigid entities, separating one neighborhood from another. Greer, in discussing the spreading out of the population and the ethnic worlds of the ghetto, states that the ideal typical city was a "mosaic of worlds that touch but do not interpenetrate." In Houston, the movement from the central city to the

suburbs has created two worlds separated by life style. In the past these differentia were correlated by race, but this is no longer the case in Houston per se. There are lines of cleavage attributable to race, but stronger divisions exist by class. Suburban movement has been enhanced by socio-economic status. Contrary to traditional beliefs, there is great variation in class positions among blacks in Houston by both commitments and life style.

For the purpose of this study, we examine dimensions of the problem of housing and neighborhood deterioration in a part of the City. The aims expressed heavily emphasize the need to eliminate substandard housing and the provision for better housing through a program of "voluntary urban relocation." We probe for social attitudes relating to community renewal, and reactions toward forms of public housing, namely the 235-236 programs. Population characteristics of the Third Ward area are presented so that particular urban phenomena are more clearly understood.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION

Over 300 households were contacted during the survey, representing an adequate sample of all households in the population to be studied. There were more females than males in the study, with 183 or 57 percent of the sample population being female; 137 or 43 percent listed as males. This figure corresponds with the percentage distribution of the total

population by sex for Houston. Since the sample population was composed of individuals of various ethnic groups, it is felt that any comparison by race would be useless because of the disproportionate number of non-whites in the study.

Most of the respondents included in the study were blacks who reside in the various sectors of the model neighborhoods in Houston. In fact, 89.9 percent of the sample population was composed of blacks; about 9 percent were whites; with a little over one percent being classified as Mexican-Americans and others. The racial composition of Third Ward as a whole compares favorably with this sample distribution.

Marital Status. The typical resident living in the sample study area is married with 2-4 children in family. About 18 percent of the respondents were single; 13 percent indicated that they were widowed; about 7 percent were separated; with a comparable percentage (7 percent) stipulating that they were divorced.

Income. Family income is a most commonly used index of economic well-being for a family or an individual household head. Detailed information on income is one measurement which can be used to determine the economic plight and capability of persons living in slums or undesirable environments. Planning for housing is based on certain indices relating to the long-term socio-economic situation of the family in the light of the probable stability of income from particular sources. These data coupled

with how the income is derived form the basis for establishing potential and actual earning power of individuals interested in relocating voluntarily.

Our data on income were drawn from household heads and single individuals who were considered to be the "breadwinners." The information we were able to elicit from the respondents in the study shows a wide distribution by income. The bulk of the respondents is found below the $8,000 annual income category. However, about 15 percent of the respondents indicated that they had incomes of $10,000 or more per year. More than 25 percent of the families included in the study group had incomes below $4,000 per year. This figure represents the "poverty class" when compared with federal guidelines which define "poverty" according to household size.

The data on the approximate income of the head of the household suggest that most people living in dilapidated or deteriorated dwellings have incomes at the lower end of the scale, and their eligibility for Section 235-236 provisional housing is undoubtedly established. The eligibility criteria for public housing may be further enhanced by another operative factor. This operative factor is the number of households with more than one income, which implies that the income of heads of households does not give the total picture. We did not collect any substantial data on total family income because we wanted to guard against providing an unstable figure on which planning for public housing could be built. Exceptions to the multiple income factor operating adversely to the accuracy of the

data given would be the single individual or the single-parent households which might be male-headed (without a wife) or female-headed (without a husband). Often when data are analyzed in this regard, little attention, if any, is given to the household where the female parent is absent. Our interviewers found some evidence of this which led us to classify our household in terms of single and multiple incomes rather than male-headed versus female-headed households. The data reveal that approximately 40 percent of the household included in the study had single incomes; about 60 percent were households with multiple incomes.

With both of the categories--single and multiple incomes--there is a high proportion of women who work. Apart from those single individuals who have the responsibility of being the only breadwinner, a large proportion of the married women living with their husbands have jobs. Very few respondents indicated that there were more than three members working full-time in the households.

Child-Care Information. Women in households with single-incomes generally have more child-care responsibility and they are more likely to be found working part-time rather than full-time. A large proportion of the women who work full-time stated that they have older children completing elementary school or attending secondary schools. Child care is usually needed in households were the mother works to supplement the family income and in families where only one parent is present.

There is some indication that families with older children in school are less likely to relocate voluntarily than those with smaller children in the elementary and secondary schools. Better schooling in other neighborhoods is a factor which would be less attractive to families with children nearing the completion of their secondary education. This factor has more appeal in families where children are entering the first phase of their secondary education or attending elementary schools.

Occupation and Employment. For purposes of this report, we used the standard classification of occupations. Occupational scales used by the U.S. Bureau of Census were the categories utilized in the classification of data. We found that this method of categorizing is more suitable for comparisons with other information.

The largest number of persons included in the study are employed in occupations which are unskilled, with an even greater proportion of the respondents indicating that they were retired or unemployed. Less than 5 percent of the workers were found in business, managerial, official and proprietor occupations; and less than 10 percent of the group of workers were employed in the crafts and supervisory positions; a larger percentage was found to be retired persons, many of which are pensioners. Some diversity in occupational distribution is reflected in the 18 percent shown for the professional, technical, and kindred categories. This is more clearly understood for the Third Ward area since many professionals who work at Texas Southern University and the University of Houston are found

to live in the study area. Graduate and undergraduate students live in the area, attend school, and work part-time. Despite a median income of less than $4,000 for the area, there is still a substantial proportion of individuals living in the area which make more than three times this amount. However, the greater proportion of the residents living in the study area may be found at lower ends of both the income and occupational scales.

Education. About 30 percent of the respondents in the study are high school graduates, with a similar number indicating that they have had some college training or graduated from college. 21 percent of the population had some high school; 13 percent had eight years of formal training or less; with less than 5 percent indicating that they attended technical or professional school.

Length of Residency. The majority of the respondents have lived in Houston for more than twenty years. An additional 19 percent indicated that they have lived in Houston from 10-19 years; more than 9 percent have lived in Houston from 5-9 years, while about 19 percent have lived in the City for less than five years.

In addition to probing for the length of time respondents had lived in Houston, we also sought to establish the length of time each respondent had been in the neighborhoods where they lived. About 36 percent of the study popuiation stated that they had lived in the neighborhood

a period of from 1-9 years; about 26 percent had lived in the neighborhood for less than one year. This latter group contained a large proportion of college students. More than one-fourth of the respondents had lived in their neighborhoods and the study area for a period of from 15-20 years or more. These data tend to indicate that there is some stability in neighborhoods located in the study area, if one uses length of residency as a measurement of that variable. A little less than half of all the respondents interviewed stated that they had been in the neighborhood for five years or more. A composite table has been constructed to show quantitative details or a basic socio-economic description of the sample population. Table 4-A which contains the data is included in the Appendices.

IV. COMMUNITY ATTITUDES AND VOLUNTARY URBAN RELOCATION

This section examines community attitudes toward low-cost housing in some detail and devotes full attention to a discussion of public housing, voluntary urban relocation, housing preferences, and the economic capability of the survey population.

ATTITUDES CONCERNING NEIGHBORHOOD

A major attitudinal area of consideration in the study was the respondents' perception of their neighborhoods. The primary factors used in this portion of the inquiry involved the variables of convenience, physical characteristics, friendship and family ties. A concomitant concern was the level of residential satisfaction among residents of the study area.

Most of the respondents indicated that they viewed their homes as part of a "local neighborhood." Of those who considered their homes as part of a neighborhood stated that the convenience of stores, familiarity with proprietors of business establishments, the friendliness of neighbors, convenience to various types of service institutions such as drugstores, grocery stores, bus lines, and schools were the main reasons given for their attachment to the area. In comparing responses concerning convenience and neighborhood location, we found that the lower the income level,

the more likely will a respondent say that his home is part of a "local neighborhood." This tendency is not true when persons were compared on the basis of education.

When asked to describe the advantages they found in the neighborhood and those they would like to see in a new place of residence, if they decided to voluntarily relocate, most respondents gave attitudes concerning how convenient the neighborhood would be to service institutions and work, the physical description of the area, and whether they would have friends. As shown in Table I, the majority of the respondents considered their neighborhood to be very convenient to places like stores, schools, churches, and other service institutions; 46 percent thought their neighborhoods were very convenient to their place of work while 41 percent viewed the neighborhood as being fairly convenient to the place of work.

TABLE I

Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Attitudes on Neighborhood Convenience

SCALE	CONVENIENCE ITEMS			
	Service Institutions (N=323)		Place of Work (N=285)	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Very Convenient	194	60.06	132	46.32
Fairly Convenient	110	34.06	118	41.40
Not Convenient	19	5.88	35	12.28

From the responses we received, it was also evident that people with low incomes, particularly the unskilled and Blue Collar occupational groups, more easily perceive of their area as a neighborhood than do their middle income counterparts. Neighborhood living has greater relevancy to persons living on meager incomes, and the desire to relocate in better areas is very strong among the working class poor in Houston. The "convenience items" which were used to describe their neighborhood should not be construed as meaning that people would hesitate to move out of substandard housing. Instead, the responses to this item must be viewed as an indicator concerning new housing development requirements. People will voluntarily relocate if the destination point promises provision of the same conveniences as their neighborhoods presently provide.

Friendship and family ties did not appear to be prevalent factors in the survey. We asked respondents this question: Thinking of your family and close friends, do they all live in this neighborhood? Most live here? Only a few live here? None live here? An overwhelming number of respondents indicated that only a few, if any, of their friends or family members lived in the neighborhood. Table 2 gives a breakdown of responses to the query.

TABLE 2

Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Respondents According to Friendship and Family Ties in Neighborhood

Family and Friendship Ties	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percentage
All Live Here	20	6.17	6.17
Most Live Here	90	27.78	33.95
Only a Few Live Here	150	46.30	80.25
None Live Here	64	19.75	100.00

If we used friendship and family ties as a measure of residential satisfaction, it would be safe to say that more than 46 percent of the respondents have few friends or relatives in neighborhoods where they live. Only about 6 percent of the respondents considered all friends and relatives to be living in the neighborhood. These persons tended to view their neighborhood as a larger area--one with less intimacy--than those who indicated that they had few, if any, relatives or friends in their neighborhood. It is difficult to compare and analyze the data in terms of true implications because interviewers did not provide a uniform explanation of what "local neighborhood" meant.

Using arbitrary features to describe their neighborhoods, most of the respondents used characteristics such as noisy, crowded, poorly kept up, not crowded, and attractive versus unattractive buildings in describing the neighborhoods where they lived. We ranked each of the variables used in neighborhood description according to the percentage of responses. Table 3 reveals the findings in this regard.

TABLE 3

A Distribution of Responses on Neighborhood Description By Percentage Rank

Neighborhood Description	Rank	Percentage
Not Crowded	1	68.86
Quiet	2	64.54
Unattractive Buildings	3	52.90
Poorly Kept Up	4	52.36
Well Kept Up	5	50.81
Attractive Buildings	6	45.67
Noisy	7	37.79
Crowded	8	29.17

The wide variation in responses concerning the description of the neighborhood is directly attributable to the nature and diversity of the areas found in the study sample. Third Ward, the larger Primary Sampling Area, is comprised of residences ranging from low-income deteriorating structures to expensive homes ranging in price from $30,000 to $50,000 in some sections. In the more expensive sections neighborhoods are quiet and not crowded; in the low income areas, noise, unattractive buildings, poorly kept lawns, and overcrowdedness would be adequate descriptions of the neighborhoods. We present this explanation because in Table 4 there appears to be some contradiction in the ranking of items used in neighborhood description. The absence of zoning in Houston makes it possible to have a co-existence of luxury and "slummery" in a study area. In this investigation gradations in housing conditions caused wide variations in responses.

TABLE 4

Observational Description of Neighborhoods Found in Sample Area According to Percentage of Responses*

Description	Frequency	Percentage*
Near Vacant Land	25	10.92
Near Detached Family House	153	62.70
Two-Family House, 2 Units Side by Side	59	25.88
Two-Family House, Unit Above the Other	33	14.54
Detached 3-4 Family House	41	18.81
Row House (3 or more units in attached row)	22	9.95
Apartment House (3 or more units in attached row)	96	36.50
Apartment House (5 or more houses, 3 stories or less)	10	4.35
Apartment in Partly Commercial Structure	43	17.92
Near Commercial or Industrial Structure	211	100.00

*Percentages represent those answering "Yes" only; the figures also represent a mixture of types of land use, thus accounting for responses in each instance.

Observational data submitted by the interviewers provide some indication about the condition of dwellings in our study area. We asked each interviewer to provide a thumbnail sketch of the description of each cluster used in the surveying of the study area. As revealed from data contained in Table 4, the study area contains a mixture of single-family and multi-family dwellings. A large proportion of the refusals which were returned to us were found to be commercial or industrial structures, abandoned buildings and condemned residences.

Another method of gaining insight into how people feel about their neighborhood is to elicit attitudes concerning their present social and physical environments and the "ideal type" as perceived by the respondents. We made a comparison between the neighborhood in which they are now living and one in which they would like to live. Table 5 gives a summary of responses on particular items concerning their present locale and the environment in which they desired to live.

From the narrative comments given in response to certain probes used by interviewers, it appears that people tend to like neighborhoods which are well kept up. This consideration is mentioned in most of the comments concerning the ideal neighborhoods by low income and moderate income respondents alike.

Our respondents indicated that they not only had preferences regarding location, interpersonal relations, and physical characteristics in neighborhoods but they gave some indication concerning location in a certain

TABLE 5

Factors Considered in Making Comparison Between Present Neighborhood and the "Ideal Type"

ITEM	Ways in Which Present Neighborhood is Better*	Ways in Which the "Ideal Type" is More Desirable*
Location	(N)	(N)
Place of Work	132	118
Near Schools	118	142
Other Locational Advantages (near stores, downtown, etc.)	194	110
Interpersonal Relations		
Like the Neighbors (friendly)	103	132
Relatives or Close Friends Nearby	90	150
Other Favorable Comments about People	55	262
Fewer Anti-Social Activities	84	3
Better Class of People	75	243
Physical Characteristics		
Well Kept Up	156	251
Quiet	111	202
Attractive Buildings in Neighborhood	137	163
Noisy Neighborhood	191	18

*There were respondents who commented on all features as related to neighborhood comparisons. The figures reflect a variation in responses on some of the items; not all persons responding to all questions, and others responding to all questions.

As shown in Table 5, "place of work" and other locational advantages such as proximity to service institutions were considered "better" in the present neighborhood and close proximity or "near schools" represented the more desirable feature for the "ideal" type neighborhood. Interpersonal relations features, save "anti-social activities" were more desirable in the present neighborhood and least desirable in the ideal type. The low number of responses for the ideal situation in this instance may stem from certain fears of discrimination--class or racial--in the new environment. The frequencies shown in Table 5 are computed on the basis of total number responding to each item and are, therefore, based on absolute totals rather than percentages.

part of a metropolitan area. We conducted a second wave of interviews, using a short list of questions concerning locational preferences.

Respondents were asked the exact question: "If you could do as you pleased, would you like to live closer to the center of Houston or farther from the central city or just where you are?" The inquiry is designed to determine the degree of neighborhood attachment and whether or not the respondent would be willing to move to another location. Less than 10 percent of the sample population indicated that they would like to live closer to the center of Houston; 140 or 43.5 percent stated that they would like to live farther from the center of the City; while the majority of the respondents, 153 or about 48 percent, indicated that they would like to remain in the same location. It should be noted that a portion of the latter group may be classified as upper middle class blacks living in areas such as Riverside Terrace and MacGregor Place. Homes in the area are fairly expensive and many are located along Brays Bayou. This intervening status may have adversely affected many of the responses given in the latter case.

Considering the large proportion indicating the desire to live "farther from the center," it may be concluded that while a minority of the population is attracted to an urban environment such as might be noted near the central city of Houston as part of a metropolitan area, the majority would rather move farther from the center of the City or remain in their present location. The group indicating the desire to move

"farther" is much larger than the group unequivocably stating the preference of living "closer to the center."

Research on urban structure and suburban selectivity indicates that there is variation from one city to another in the distribution of groups of different socio-economic classes through the metropolitan area. As Schnore indicated, "there are some American cities in which there is concentration of high status people toward the center of the city." The common trend, however, would indicate otherwise. In most studies, it has been found that as the individual's income rises, his locational preferences tend to increase in distance from the center of the city. In terms of minority populations (and most of our respondents were minority group citizens) the trend has been more difficult to discern by virtue of housing patterns and segregated practices in the sale of real estate. Because we had a cross-section of persons by income, education, and occupation, the most important consideration was given to the low-income and moderate income persons desirous of a better living environment. Attitudes toward public housing were more favorable among those individuals living in old and substandard housing.

ATTITUDES TOWARD PUBLIC HOUSING

A central concern of community renewal programs has been adequate housing for minority groups living in central cities. One aspect of the

problem has been the lack of insufficient data on the attitudes of urban dwellers toward public housing programs; on the preferences of individuals eligible for support under programs such as 235-236 provisions; and on whether or not the individuals eligible for assistance are interested in moving away from their neighborhoods.

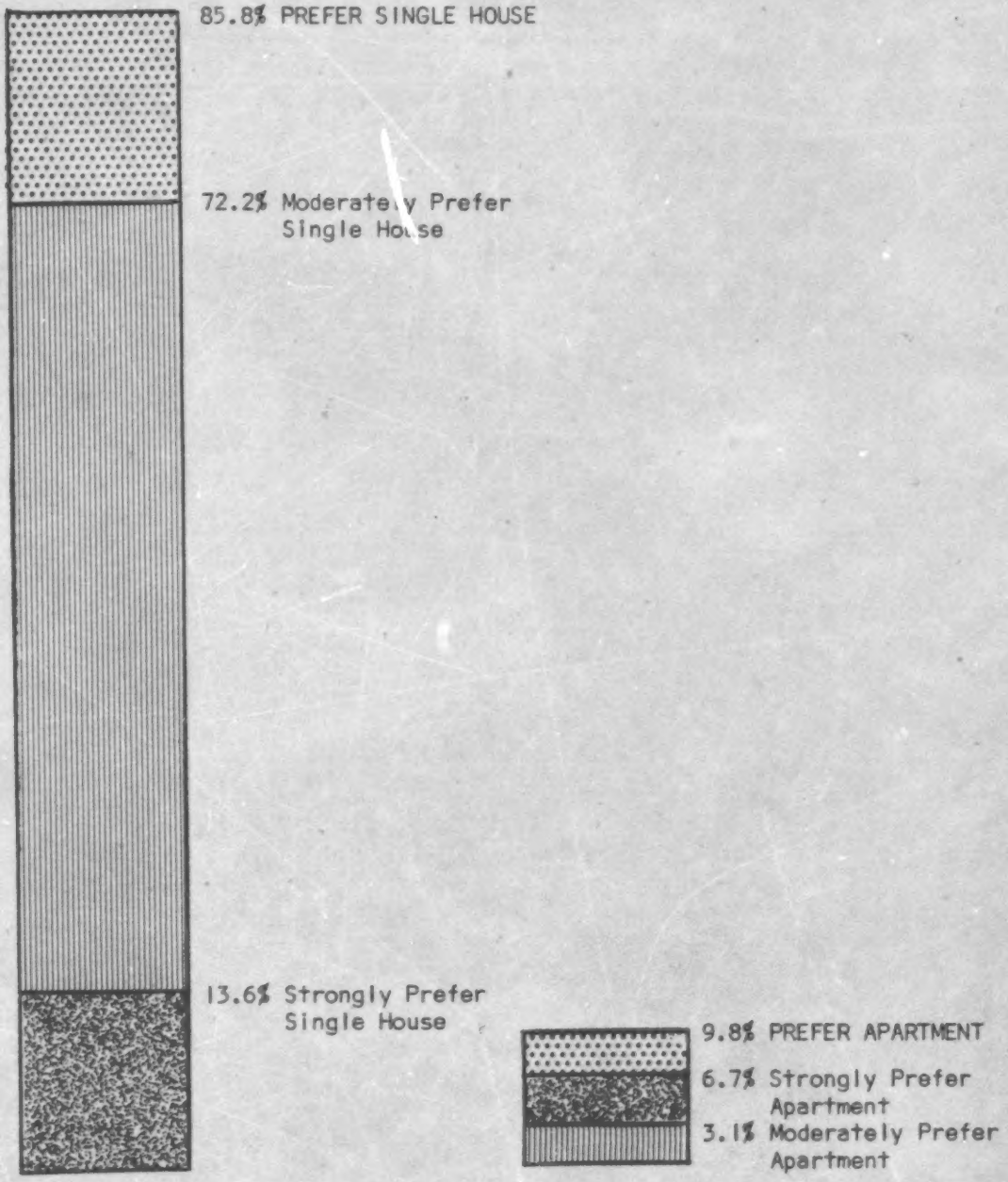
In our survey of attitudes toward public housing, we were interested in how individuals feel about low-cost housing in general; the degree of interest in 235-236 Housing; economic capability; and the type of housing preferred.

The data in the survey indicate that a majority of the respondents are interested in private housing rather that public housing. About 83 percent of the total sample population indicated a preference for private housing while about 17 percent expressed an interest in public housing.

Preferred Type of Dwelling. An overwhelming majority of the respondents in the survey expressed a desire for single-family dwelling, with 85.8 percent indicating this choice; 10 percent indicated a preference for multi-family dwellings. Those persons interested in public housing were also interested in multi-family type structures. Evidence of this preference has been noted rather consistently in previous surveys on housing preferences. Those individuals preferring multi-family dwellings or apartment-type housing were varied in the degree of this preference. Figure I shows a distribution of individuals who preferred multi-family or single-family dwellings by percentage of responses.

FIGURE I

A Percentage Distribution of Individual Preferences Regarding Type of Housing (Houston, 1973)


85.8% PREFER SINGLE HOUSE
72.2% Moderately Prefer Single House
13.6% Strongly Prefer Single House
9.8% PREFER APARTMENT
6.7% Strongly Prefer Apartment
3.1% Moderately Prefer Apartment

NOTE: A little over four percent (4.32%) indicated no preference for housing.

CHART I

Housing Preferred

	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE	CUMULATIVE
Strongly Prefer Apartment	22	6.79	6.79
Moderately Prefer Apartment	10	3.09	9.88
No Preference	14	4.32	14.20
Moderately Prefer Single House	44	13.58	27.78
Strongly Prefer Single House	234	72.22	100.00

An important variable in the survey was home tenure. We found that almost 60 percent of the respondents were renting a house or an apartment; about 13 percent indicated that they were buying; while about 26 percent of all respondents in the survey indicated that they were homeowners. A further internal analysis of the sample population concerning place of residence shows that most homeowners live in the neighborhood. In contrast, less than one percent who are buying a house in the neighborhood do not live in the area; the same is true for vacant property in the neighborhood. For sake of clarity, we were not interested in pursuing the phenomenon of "absentee landlord-ism." Instead, we were interested in knowing whether or not the respondents themselves own property in the same neighborhoods where they live. Less than 2 percent of the group indicated that they owned houses in other neighborhoods.

Home Value. The greater proportion of the homes in which the respondents live range in price from $12,000 to over $20,000. In fact, approximately 41 percent of the sample population lived in homes valued at

$20,000 and over; about 15 percent indicated that the value of the homes were between $16,000-$19,000; with about one-fourth of the residences being valued at less than $12,000. Most individuals living in homes less than $12,000 were renters or roomers in the Third Ward area.

Monthly Payments. The average monthly payments for rent or house notes falls within the $80-$99 range. However, rent or house payments were from less than $60 (in 32 instances) to $180 and over (in 4 instances). It is conceivable that the latter figure represents rent or house payments in the more expensive sections of the sample area. It is interesting to note that about 35 percent of the survey group indicated payments of $100-$139 monthly while about 12 percent pay from $140-$159 monthly. From these data, it appears evident that most of the individuals in the survey have the economic capability for home ownership.

Roomers who were found among survey respondents paid varied amounts for housing accommodations. About 55 percent of all roomers stated that they pay from $90-$199 per month for housing; an additional 23 percent of all roomers pay from $70-$89 per month for rooms, with a comparable percentage paying less than $70 per month. These data also tend to indicate that the majority of those paying room rent can afford to buy low-cost private housing, when some consideration is given to job stability and income. Table 6 gives selected data on public and private housing and respondents' economic capabilities.

TABLE 6

Selected Data Relating to Public and Private Housing
(Houston, 1973)

ITEM	Frequency	Percentage
Public or Private Housing		
Public	55	17.35
Private	262	82.65
Type of Public Housing		
Single Family	83	82.18
Multi-Family	18	17.82
Do You Own Your Own Home?		
Owns	84	26.25
Renting	191	59.69
Buying	40	12.50
Other	5	1.56
Ownership and Residency		
Own Home and Live in Neighborhood	53	16.99
Own Home but Don't Live in Neighborhood	4	1.28
Buying Home Live in Neighborhood	33	10.58
Buying Home Do Not Live in Neighborhood	3	.96
Renting (alone or with others)	196	62.82
Own Property and Live in Neighborhood	22	7.05
Own Property Do Not Live in Neighborhood	. 1	.32
Estimated Home Value		
Less than $4,000	2	2.20
$ 4,000 - $ 7,999	8	8.79
8,000 - 11,999	11	12.09
12,000 - 15,999	19	20.88
16,000 - 19,999	14	15.38
20,000 and Over	37	40.66

(CONTINUED)

TABLE 6 (Cont'd)

Selected Data Relating to Public and Private Housing
(Houston, 1973)

ITEM	Frequency	Percentage
What is Monthly Payment? (Renters or Buyers)		
Less than $60	32	12.76
$ 60 - $ 79	48	19.05
80 - 99	45	17.86
100 - 119	37	14.68
120 - 139	51	20.24
140 - 159	29	11.51
160 - 179	6	2.38
180 and Over	4	1.59
Monthly Payment of Roomers		
Less than $50	8	6.61
$ 50 - $ 69	17	14.05
70 - 89	28	23.14
90 - 199	67	55.37
200 and Over	1	.83
Interest in 235 and 236 Housing		
235 Housing	114	35.40
236 Housing	84	26.09
Other	124	38.51

Interest in 235-236 Housing. Specific information was sought concerning the 235-236 Housing Program, sponsored by the United Stated Department of Housing and Urban Development. The probing began by eliciting attitudes toward low-cost housing in general. The respondents gave positive and negative reactions concerning the question on low-cost housing.

Typical of some of the positive responses were those which expressed concern about the quality of housing sold to low-income persons. One respondent stated: "There is need for more low-cost housing, but it should be done with the best craftsmanship and materials available for the cost. Too many low-cost units are falling down." Another respondent concurred with the previous statement: "If a home is low cost it should not be low in quality. Another thing to consider is where houses would be located--whether they would be advantageous. You would not want to move people back into the slums." Other persons responding in a positive manner to the question on low-cost housing expressed concern for poor people who can not afford more expensive housing and for those who, because of their incomes, have never had the opportunity to purchase decent housing. A few persons favored low-cost housing because of the benefits it offered to the aged and disabled.

An important observation made by the interviewers was the tendency of persons to equate low-cost housing invariably with public housing, with little differentiation in this regard found among opposing viewpoints.

Negative reactions to low-cost housing followed the general theme of suspicion about federally-funded programs for poor people, environmental conditions, and continued segregated housing patterns. One respondent put it rather bluntly when she stated that "They (low-cost housing units) are just another way of the government getting poor folks in debt, and not offering them enough for their money. Some of the rent paid in federally-funded housing would buy a home in River Oaks, in time . . . " Another disgruntled renter believes that low-cost housing is "devised to keep poor people in one bundle, to keep them segregated by race." He stated, "I would prefer something where blacks have a choice of living where they want to . . . Most of the low-income housing projects built in black areas are just that--built for black people. They know they do not have to make them quality housing, and only black tenants will move in them . . . " One female respondent simply expressed dissatisfaction with low-cost housing because "of the environmental conditions and impersonal nature of high-rise apartments. There is no privacy, yet, you hardly get to know your neighbor before you have another one . . . "

About 61 percent of those persons interested in low-cost housing showed a positive reaction to 235-236 Housing. On the survey instrument, we included several questions about 235-236 Housing along with photographs of actual houses in the City. The findings show that about 35 percent of the population liked the 235-style housing; 26.1 percent indicated a preference for the 236-type housing; with approximately 39 percent stating

that they would prefer other type housing. A large proportion of the latter group may be persons in the moderate income class.

There were some criticisms about 235-236 Housing. Again, the negative responses were not directed toward the "housing concept," but rather toward the quality of the structure once it is built. Typical responses follow:

> I lived in a home on the same order of the 235 and plumbing was bad and I had trouble trying to sell it. They should have those homes carefully looked at before trying to sell them. Most people who have bought them find fault with the quality of the houses. They are not well built . . .
>
> I don't like them because they are too small, and they don't ever look like homes. They should be rented because the quality is too bad for anybody to try and sell them to people . . .
>
> Many people that I know had to go through so much red tape to get them. Yet, they say they are for low income people. Even when they buy them, they can easily loose them. A friend of mine had one and her husband was injured at work. When they missed two payments they threatened eviction and the people moved . . .

The positive reactions concerning 235-236-type housing were more prevalent among the respondents. When we conducted a content analysis of qualitative responses and compared these with the quantitative data, we found that about 42 percent of the survey group stated that they were "strongly interested" in 235-236 Housing. An additional 29.1 percent stated that they were mildly interested in subsidized housing (Sections 235-236); while an equal proportion (29.1 percent) indicated that they were not interested in either type.

A further analysis of the positive aspects of low-to-moderate cost subsidized housing reveals that 53.4 percent of those persons indicating a willingness to pay less than $15,000 for a home were strongly interested in housing on a subsidized basis; 24.3 percent of those willing to pay this price were mildly interested; while 22.3 percent of those that thought that this was a reasonable amount to pay for decent housing were not interested. Approximately 84 percent of those willing to pay a price which ranges from $15,000 to $17,999 for a home similar to those contained in photographs and described in detail through information supplied by field enumerators were mildly to strongly interested in subsidized housing. (See Survey Instrument found in the Appendices.)

Thirty-six respondents indicated that they would pay a price of $18,000-$19,999, with 44.4 percent of this group indicating a strong interest in moderately priced housing. Fifty-seven respondents stated that they were willing to pay more than $20,000 for a home, with about 38 percent of this group expressing a strong interest in Sections 235-236 Housing. Table 7 contains data on the level of interest of the survey group as related to the amount they are willing to pay for homes. As can be observed from Table 7, a rather consistent trend is in evidence when "interest" is correlated with "willingness to pay." As the amount which respondents are willing to pay increases, interest in the program for subsidized housing decreases. Noting upper cell entries as percent of column totals, the data yield a Chi Square of 40.144 and a R-correlation of 0.328, both significant at the .001 level with eight degrees of freedom.

TABLE 7

A Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Responses According to Degrees of Interest in Subsidized Housing and Amount Willing to Pay

Interest in 235-236 Housing	WILLING TO PAY: Less than $15,000 f	%	$15,000-17,999 f	%	$18,000-19,999 f	%	$20,000-21,999 f	%	$22,000 & Over f	%	TOTAL f	%
Strongly	55	53.4	24	43.6	16	44.4	3	21.4	7	16.3	105	41.8
Mildly	25	24.3	22	40.0	13	36.1	3	21.4	10	23.3	73	29.1
Not Interested	23	22.3	9	16.4	7	19.4	8	57.1	26	60.5	73	29.1
TOTAL	103	41.0	55	21.9	36	14.3	14	5.6	43	17.1	251	100.0

Another area of concern in this investigation was whether or not persons living in the select Model Neighborhoods would be interested in public or private housing. For sake of clarity, both types of housing are defined within the context of "shelter with subsidies" while "private housing" refers to single-family dwellings built by public or private concerns at low cost to the purchasers, including interest rates. A total of 112 respondents or 35.7 percent of the survey group expressed a strong interest in low cost housing, both public and private; 82 or 26.1 percent expressed a mild interest in low-cost housing (not necessarily confined to Sections 235-236 provisions); and 120 or 38.2 percent indicated no interest in housing.

We sought to establish housing preferences through a forced choice question regarding public versus private housing. An overwhelming majority of the respondents expressed an interest in private housing, with about 83 percent

responding this way. On the other hand, less than 18 percent of the total group stated that they would be interested in public housing. Of the total expressing an interest in private housing (260 or 82.8 percent), the majority were mildly or strongly interested in subsidized housing (235-236), but about 49 percent stated that they had no interest at all in such programs. A total of 54 or 17.2 percent of the respondents revealed an interest in public housing. Of this total, 44.4 percent were strongly interested in 235-236 housing; 18.5 percent were mildly interested; and 37 percent showed no interest in public housing or the housing under provisions of Sections 235-236. A distribution of total responses follows:

Interest in Public Housing	17.2%
Interest in Private Housing	82.8%

The respondents were asked to provide information on current monthly expenses incurred as a result of renting or buying a house. As will be shown in Table 8, the majority of persons renting or buying any type of housing pay $80 or more for housing in the sample survey area. A total of 246 persons responded to our inquiry in comparison to 314 in Table 6. The difference in total number of responses is attributable to home owners in the survey without mortgages. Sixty-eight (68) persons stated that they did not have any indebtedness on their homes and, therefore, had no monthly payments.

TABLE 8

A Comparative Analysis of Responses on Monthly House or Rental Payments and Preferences of Public or Private Housing

MONTHLY PAYMENT	Public Housing		Private Housing		TOTAL	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
Less than $60	7	15.6	24	11.9	31	12.6
$ 60 - $ 79	8	17.8	39	19.4	47	19.1
80 - 99	9	20.0	35	17.4	44	17.9
100 - 119	7	15.6	30	14.9	37	15.0
120 - 139	7	15.6	44	21.9	51	20.7
140 - 159	5	11.1	21	10.4	26	10.6
160 - 179	2	4.4	4	2.0	6	2.4
180 and Over	0	0	4	2.0	4	1.6
TOTALS	45	18.3	201	81.7	246	100.0

Most of the persons expressing a preference for public housing were renters. The amount of rent paid in the "public housing" category was varied, ranging from less than $60 to more than $170. Only persons responding to the amount of funds they spent for renting or buying housing were compared with the same group stating a preference for public versus private housing. The overwhelming majority of all respondents favored private housing. If current monthly payments for rent and house notes are indicators of economic capability for home ownership, most of the respondents in the survey can afford to pay for low-to-moderate cost housing whether privately owned or publicly subsidized. To be sure, all could afford to invest in the type of housing covered under provisions outlined in Sections 235-236 of the Federal Housing Act.

ECONOMIC CAPABILITY

The economic capability of potential home buyers, their attitudes and preferences are linked in exceedingly subtle but important ways. Four key variables were used to determine the economic capabilities of the respondents. These indicators were exclusive of the basic socio-economic or descriptive variables used to describe the characteristics of the survey population en masse. Home ownership, estimated home value, monthly payments for renting or buying, family income, occupation, and education were variables used in measuring economic capability.

As the data will show, a substantial proportion of the respondents indicated that they were buying their home or that they owned it. The majority of the residents included in the survey were renters. A frequency and percentage breakdown of the survey group according to home tenure is shown in Table 9.

TABLE 9

A Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Respondents According to Home Tenure

ITEM	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Owns	84	26.25	26.25
Renting	191	59.69	85.94
Buying	40	12.50	98.44
Other	5	1.56	100.00
TOTAL	320	100.00	-

The bulk of all the respondents in the survey could afford to pay for a home in the low to moderate price range as shown in Table 8. The average rental payment or house note was found in the $100-$120 category. Using house and rental payments as a guide only, low-cost housing requiring an average down payment would not be out of the reach of these consumers.

Respondents were asked if they would move into new and better housing if they could afford it or if they could qualify under the subsidized plans. Most of the respondents stated that they would be willing to move into private low-cost housing. Extremely significant was the fact the over 85 percent of the group stated that they would be willing to pay more for better housing than they are now paying for renting or buying houses; only about 13 percent said that they would want to pay less for adequate housing. We probed further for information concerning how much they would want to pay for better housing and whether or not they could afford to do so. A percentage breakdown of the responses indicates that 103 or 40.87 percent of the group would pay less than $15,000 for a better home; a little less than one-fourth would pay from $15,000 to $17,999 for housing; and the same proportion (less than one-fourth) would pay $20,000 or more for housing. A little over 14 percent placed the price they could afford to pay within the range of $18,000-$19,999. About 21 percent of the group had annual incomes of $8,000 or more. This income is based on the salary of the household head rather than total income per household.

Estimated Home Value. Only retired persons lived in homes valued at less than $4,000; mostly unskilled and unemployed persons own or live in homes valued between $4,000 and $7,999 with two exceptions. Two respondents not living in the survey area owned houses valued at less than $8,000. These individuals were found in the professional, business, and managerial classes. A further observation revealed that the property owned by these White Collar professionals was rented to others. A positive correlation was shown between estimated value of home and occupational class.

Occupation and Estimated Home Value. About 50 percent of all persons in the professional, technical, and kindred occupational class lived in homes valued at $20,000 or more. Only three persons listed in the unskilled category were found to own or rent homes valued at an estimated $20,000 or more. An occupational classification of all respondents in the survey is shown in Table 10.

TABLE 10

A Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Respondents According to Occupational Class

OCCUPATION	Frequency (N=320)	Percent
Professional, Technical, & Kindred	55	18.09
Bus., Mgrs., Officials, Prop.	13	4.27
Clerical, Sales Workers	22	7.23
Craftsmen, Foremen, & Kindred	28	9.21
Operatives & Kindred	12	3.94
Unskilled, Service, & Domestic	61	20.06
Retired	35	11.51
Unemployed	78	25.65
No Response	16	-

About 11 percent of the respondents were retired while about 26 percent of the group were unemployed. The latter category includes the disabled also.

We included a series of questions regarding general attitudes about home ownership and values. Findings show that neither low income respondents nor moderate or middle income individuals were willing to say that they would pay a rent increase under the present circumstances. The usual explanation given to our field enumerators, in narrative form, was that values of homes were more important than rent increases vis-a-vis better quality housing whether it would be low-cost housing or not. Respondents are interested in home ownership. To this end, they would be willing to pay for better private housing; while a smaller proportion stated a willingness to pay more for better public housing.

Rehabilitation. It was extremely difficult for us to analyze the contents of statements in this regard. From what we were able to delineate from other attitudinal data, it appeared that individuals are more willing to rehabilitate or improve the condition of a dwelling he owns than to agree to a rent increase in order to finance the improvement or rehabilitation of a structure for a landlord. Women were more interested in improving where they now live than men. Older people appeared to favor rehabilitation while younger people were less prone to agree to the improvement of housing in poor condition. In an overall sense, however, all of the respondents felt that the areas where they now live were badly in need of residential rehabilitation.

Owners of housing in our study were queried concerning their willingness to undertake repairs of dwellings if they were in poor condition. Many of this group indicated that they had done some repairs on their homes recently. Since this phase of the investigation was the second part of the initial pilot survey, we had to first establish whether the individual had been the same one interviewed by our field enumerators previously. Once this was established, we were able to engage in in-depth conversations about their attitudes toward rehabilitation. From the narrative data we received, it was difficult to establish a trend by socio-economic status. However, we were able to arrive at one rather common belief among most home owners. A majority of all homeowners cited one single factor which would influence them in making repairs on homes and other property. The factors cited most often were the physical environment in which the dwelling is located and the extent of demolition in areas. Because predominantly black areas are usually the older areas of the city, owners of property make decisions concerning rehabilitation or repairs based on actual values as well as potential depreciation. On the other side of the coin is a concern for assessed valuation of their property in the light of real estate taxes. The common fear is that tax assessment policies affect their decisions to make repairs because of the potential increase in taxes in what some described as "declining areas."

ATTITUDES ON URBAN RENEWAL AND RELOCATION

"When urban renewal policy was first conceived in 1949, its aims were to eliminate slums and provide decent housing for every American family. More so, it was designed to give the city a stronger tax base, to revitalize its economic and cultural centers, and . . . to encourage good urban design." This statement is contained in an article by W. Joseph Black on "Remaking the Ghetto."[17] A review of articles on programs of urban renewal in various parts of the country indicates that the achievements of urban renewal projects are amenable to criticism by both project directors and individuals exposed to demolition and rehabilitation.

To elicit attitudes concerning urban renewal and relocation, we resorted to probing for reactions concerning willingness to move, whether urban renewal would be good for the area or not, and needed improvements in the survey area. Over three-fourths of the respondents in the survey felt that moving would not be a problem, with about one-fourth indicating that it would be a problem. A distribution of responses follows:

WOULD MOVING BE A PROBLEM?

Yes	(75)	23.58%
No	(243)	76.42%

We were also interested in knowing whether the respondents thought urban renewal would be good for the area or not. Over 50 percent felt

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[17] See: W. Joseph Black, "Remaking the Ghetto," The Architectural Forum, (June, 1968) in Viewpoints: The American Cities (Minnesota: Winston Press, 1972), pp. 254-55.

that urban renewal or community redevelopment would be good for the sample survey area; about 22 percent thought it would not be beneficial; and 26 percent did not have an opinion on the subject. The responses were distributed as shown below:

WOULD URBAN RENEWAL BE GOOD FOR THIS AREA?

Beneficial	(166)	51.55%
Not Beneficial	(72)	22.36%
Don't Know	(84)	26.09%

Persons living in the area for long periods of time tended to view urban renewal as a necessary evil. Despite their emotional attachment to the area, many respondents did not hesitate to point out problems in the area and the need for improvement. Some residents in the Third Ward area have lived in Houston for twenty years or more. In fact 53 percent of the survey population stated that they have been in Houston for more than two decades. These same individuals, as evidenced by their qualitative responses, feel that there is need for vast improvements in the neighborhoods included in the survey sample area. Many alluded to the ever-growing trend of community disintegration which is reinforced by real estate speculation and political manipulation in previously stable neighborhoods, while others expressed a keen awareness of the often cited phrase, "Urban renewal means black displacement." Yet, in the midst of these fears and anxieties about the program's success, a majority of the respondents agreed that some rehabilitation or redevelopment of the Third Ward area, mainly the Model Neighborhoods in this section, is necessary.

A logical concern inherent in any efforts at redevelopment and community renewal would be the possibility of having to relocate some of the residents because of overcrowdedness and the deteriorated condition of some dwellings. The attitudes concerning "forced" relocation were--for the most part--negative. A substantial number of the respondents indicated that the home owner or renter loses in a condemnation or forced removal process. However, these individuals were extremely favorable toward "voluntary urban relocation." A large number of persons classified as renters expressed an interest in relocating on their own and over half of the homeowners, with homes valued at $15,000 or less, stated that they would relocate if conditions at the destination point were favorable and financially equitable. A male household head stated that he "would voluntarily relocate if I could find a nice enough place to live and if it would be financially wise to relocate . . . " Another respondent wanted to relocate for an entirely different reason. She found fault with the management of her apartment building. "Yes, I would relocate if I could find a better place to live because the landlord does not keep the apartments in good condition and the service is not commensurate with what we have to pay for rent."

Other reasons given for wanting to relocate included lack of adequate space, inadequate closet and storage space in present location, the desire for a better environment, poor management and upkeep of present place to live, the desire for home ownership, more yard space, better streets, less crowded schools, and more open space for children to play.

Numerous complaints were made concerning the general condition of neighborhoods. To further determine the need for improvements in the survey area, a questionnaire was sent to a select number of households. One of the items requested information on "what they considered to be problems in the neighborhood." Their responses to the inquiry are listed in order or priority:

Problem	Rating	Rank
Street Paving	56	1
Maintenance of Building	40	2
Odor, Dust, and Noise	32	3
Playground Facilities	29	4
Garbage Removal	27	5
Schools	27	6
Parking and Traffic	22	7
Street Lighting	17	8

Street paving, building maintenance, air and noise pollution, playground facilities, garbage removal, and schools were the problems most disturbing to the respondents in the neighborhoods. Deteriorating houses occupied a great deal of attention among persons classified as renters. Conversely, these are the same concerns listed when individuals were asked what they desired most in a neighborhood where they wanted to live. To be sure, the quest for better housing in the area surveyed or in new developments and towns is based on the belief that its acquisition will alleviate the vexing problems with which they are now faced.

There is little doubt that residents in deteriorating areas will voluntarily relocate if better living facilities are available at prices comparable to what they are now paying and their ability to pay.

The strongest desire among potential relocatees is to acquire privately-initiated housing rather than publicly-subsidized housing. The lingering stigma of living in a ghetto persists among persons with negative attitudes toward public housing. We found also, from our limited brief interviews with household heads, that they generally tend to be extremely negative in their expressions and perceptions about the effect of public housing on young children and the neighborhood environment. In 60 percent of the households with children present (including persons living in public housing or privately-owned apartments or homes), the household heads interviewed felt that living in public housing projects could have a tremendous negative effect on the personalities and behavior of children. When responses were compared according to those favoring public housing and those preferring private housing, there was little variation in attitudes regarding the behavioral effects on children. A typical response concerning publicly-subsidized housing was that "one pays just as much as he would if he bought a house of his own, yet you cannot say that you have a suitable environment for adults or children." The regulations regarding tenancy create a kind of class uniformity by income. For the most part, low-income persons with children occupy public housing projects. Inquiring further, we found that most of the respondents equated housing under Provision 236 with general public housing projects and, although the 236-housing complexes were very attractive in our pictures (shown to respondents by interviewers), most expressions and comments appeared to evolve out of prior negative images regarding public housing. Subsidized public housing is viewed by a

substantial proportion of the respondents as a "clean constructed ghetto" with all of the potentials for becoming slums, with the federal government as the "slum landlord."

Our data do not permit us to draw any specific conclusions about why individuals tend to favor private dwellings, considering the mushrooming costs of borrowing money. We can surmise that the strong preferences for low-cost private housing are due to a number of uncontrolled variables. One of the major complaints of household heads was that their children were exposed to bad influences in publicly-subsidized housing or, in some cases, privately-owned multi-family dwellings. The verbal responses indicated that because of the physical environment, particularly the absence of a backyard, children were exposed to a variety of unsavory individuals and criminal activities. It was a common belief that despite efforts to train children living in public housing properly, peer group influence and outside exposure rendered their acts ineffectual.

CLEARANCE AND RELOCATION: IN REVIEW[18]

Most respondents reacted favorably to the question on whether or not they would voluntarily relocate. As might be expected, renters were more willing to relocate than homeowners. There was also a very strong tendency

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[18]A portion of the data items relating to attitudes on Clearance and Relocation were utilized, and compared favorably with findings in Arthur D. Little, Inc., Community Renewal Programming (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1966). See, particularly: Chapters 8 and 9.

for persons who owned houses to be more in favor of rehabilitation or redevelopment and less in favor of demolition and clearance. Conversely, middle income renters were overwhelmingly in favor of clearance and relocation than low income renters. Family members with children were more interested in relocation than households without children present. Younger persons were more willing to relocate than the aged.

Apart from varying attitudes on clearance and relocation, the living conditions of respondents were fairly consistent with their reactions to clearance and relocation. An attempt at further analysis based on a cluster of socio-economic characteristics shows several paradigms. Urban renters with low income and low education are positively in favor of relocation but their economic instability affects their decision in this regard. The young, single, and middle income individual is more prone to relocating in various areas of Houston than the elderly and less affluent individual.

Our findings show that lower income persons are the most threatened by neighborhood clearance activities, particularly those households with incomes of less than $5,000 per year. This group also feels that although a better living environment is desirable the cost for this kind of "luxury" is far beyond the level which they can afford for decent housing. It is also felt that to demolish the substandard housing would cause the demand for housing to rise with the concomitant effects of spiraling costs for occupancy.

Interviewers for the study attempted to explain the concept of federally-subsidized housing to renters and other interested persons. A typical comment was that they did not have the credit or income to qualify for the programs under Sections 235-236 of the Federal Housing Act. More fears were expressed by lower income persons. Middle income persons were very favorable in their attitudes toward voluntary urban relocation; a substantial number favored community clearance and renewal also.

Several indivicuals, mostly in the middle income category, launched some criticisms against federal subsidies to private construction firms and builders. One major indictment was that large corporations and non-profit organizations have been attracted to the home building market because of the federal subsidies offered and the general prospect of increased profit on building and construction jobs. The result has been, in some cases, a massive construction of very low quality housing. Charges were also made that profiteering takes place as a result of foreclosures on mortgages and resale of the same housing. Added to these criticisms is the lurking problem of the shortage of funds for mortgage financing and construction. A check on the reliability of these criticisms was made through a cross-reference of a study on housing for the same area from which our sample was taken.[19] Using a set of inspection forms which utilized evaluative elements contained in the Housing Code for the City of Houston,

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[19]Special Report prepared by Annie R. Harris, "Housing Code Enforcement in the Black Community," Urban Resources Center Publication, Texas Southern University, Houston, 1972.

a representative number of single and multi-family dwellings were inspected. Only a small proportion were found to reveal exaggerations or errors in judgement as to quality of construction. A majority of the housing constructed by private builders using federal subsidies were poor in the quality of product when compared with housing of comparable cost found in the regular real estate market. It is difficult to say conclusively that qualitative differences were due solely to the cost of materials since the rise in prices for building materials has generally kept pace with increased prices of consumer goods in general. However, because of criticisms concerning this aspect of federally-subsidized housing, it may be helpful if governmental and city officials alike conduct a review of housing policies, programs, and building regulations directed to lower and moderate income citizens in Houston and, indeed, the nation.

SUMMARY STATEMENT

This brings to a conclusion the investigation which was designed to determine the perceptions and attitudes of a special group of residents in a selected area of the City toward the concept of "voluntary urban relocation." We have probed for general attitudes toward housing, specific reactions about certain types of federally-subsidized housing, and we have recorded anecdotal statements which reveal the innermost thoughts of the respondents. The principal findings of the study are summarized in the first portion of the report. Both quantitative and qualitative data, hopefully,

provide a frame within which planners can design programs of housing on a valid basis, particularly in relationship to the construction of quality low-cost housing within the financial reach of low-to-moderate income clientele.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Detailed Tables

TABLE I-A

Education and Number of Children in Family

EDUCATION	NUMBER OF CHILDREN							
	One		2-4		5 & Over		TOTAL	
	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f
0 - 8 Years	11.3	7	4.6	5	21.4	3	8.2	15
Some High School	9.7	6	28.7	31	21.4	3	21.7	40
High School Graduate	38.7	24	30.6	33	35.7	5	33.7	62
Some College	16.1	10	13.0	14	7.1	1	13.6	25
College Graduate	8.1	5	6.5	7	7.1	1	7.1	13
4+ Years College	9.7	6	.5	7	7.1	1	7.6	14
Technical & Prof. School	3.2	2	8.3	9	-	-	6.0	11
No Response	3.2	2	1.9	2	-	-	2.2	4

TABLE 2-A

Education and Family Income

EDUCATION	FAMILY INCOME													
	Under $2,000		$2,000-3,999		$4,000-5,999		$6,000-7,999		$8,000-9,999		$10,000 & Over		Refusal	
	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f
0 - 8 Years	31.7	13	17.5	7	6.5	3	9.1	3	-	-	-	-	19.3	16
Some High School	31.7	13	30.0	12	21.7	10	12.1	4	31.3	5	8.3	4	20.5	17
High School Graduate	24.4	10	30.0	12	41.3	19	39.4	13	25.0	4	16.7	8	27.7	23
Some College	9.8	4	12.5	5	17.4	8	21.2	7	12.5	2	12.5	6	13.3	11
College Graduate	2.4	1	-	-	6.5	3	9.1	3	6.3	1	16.7	8	8.4	7
4+ Years College	-	-	2.5	1	-	-	6.1	2	12.5	2	33.3	16	6.0	5
Technical & Prof. School	2.4	1	7.5	3	4.3	2	3.0	1	12.5	2	10.4	5	1.2	1
No Response	-	-	-	-	2.2	1	-	-	-	-	2.1	1	3.6	3

TABLE 3-A

Marital Status and Family Income

MARITAL STATUS	Under $2,000		$2,000-3,999		$4,000-5,999		$6,000-7,999		$8,000-9,999		$10,000 & Over		Refusal	
	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f
Single	19.0	8	35.0	14	17.4	8	6.1	2	17.6	3	4.3	2	18.1	15
Married	33.3	14	30.0	12	65.2	30	69.7	23	70.6	12	93.6	44	45.8	38
Widowed	21.4	9	15.0	6	2.2	1	3.0	1	11.8	2	-	-	24.1	20
Separated	14.3	6	15.0	6	6.5	3	15.2	5	-	-	-	-	2.4	2
Divorced	11.9	5	5.0	2	8.7	4	6.1	2	-	-	2.1	1	9.6	8

TABLE 4-A

Selected Socio-Economic Characteristics of Low and Moderate Income Persons (Houston, 1973)

ITEM	Frequency (N=320)	Percent
Sex		
Male	137	42.81
Female	183	57.19
Race		
Black	286	89.94
White	28	8.81
M-A	2	0.63
Other	2	0.63
No Response	2	-
How Long In Neighborhood		
Less Than 1 Year	81	26.21
1 - 4 Years	79	25.57
5 - 9 Years	31	10.03
10 - 14 Years	40	12.94
15 - 19 Years	26	8.41
20 Years & Over	52	15.83
No Response	11	-
How Long in Houston		
Less Than 5 Years	60	19.48
5 - 9 Years	30	9.74
10 - 14 Years	31	10.06
15 - 19 Years	26	8.44
20 Years & Over	161	52.27
No Response	12	-
Children in Family		
One	62	33.51
2 - 4	109	58.92
5 & Over	14	7.57
No Response	135	-

(CONTINUED)

TABLE 4-A (Cont'd)

Selected Socio-Economic Characteristics of Low and Moderate Income Persons (Houston, 1973)

ITEM	Frequency (N=320)	Percent
Education		
0 - 8 Years	42	13.29
Some High School	66	20.88
High School Graduate	95	30.06
Some College	48	15.18
College Graduate	24	7.59
4+ Years College	26	8.22
Tech. & Prof. School	15	4.74
No Response	4	-
Occupation		
Prof., Tech., & Kindred	55	18.09
Bus. Bgrs., Official, Prop.	13	4.27
Clerical & Sales Workers	22	7.23
Craftsmen, Foremen, Kindred	28	9.21
Operatives & Kindred	12	3.94
Unskilled & Domestic Workers	61	20.06
Retired	35	11.51
Unemployed	78	25.65
No Response	16	-
Marital Status		
Single	56	17.66
Married	176	55.52
Widowed	40	12.61
Separated	23	7.25
Divorced	22	6.94
No Response	3	-
Family Income		
Under $2,000	42	13.55
$ 2,000 - $3,999	40	12.90
4,000 - 5,999	46	14.84
6,000 - 7,999	33	10.65
8,000 - 9,999	17	5.48
10,000 & Over	48	15.48
Refusal	84	27.10
No Response	10	-

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COMMUNITY ATTITUDES AND VOLUNTARY URBAN RELOCATION
TSU- Urban Intern Project

Place Codes:

DO NOT WRITE IN ABOVE SPACE

COVER SHEET

(To be used in identifying respondents only)

___ A-12 2520 Wichita ___

INTERVIEWER: List below all adults living in the dwelling unit. (Interview only household heads, 18 years of age and over).

(Col. 1) Adults by Relationship or Connection to Head	(Col. 2) Sex	(Col. 3) Age	(Col. 4) Marital Status	(Col. 5) Indicate R. by (✓)
HEAD:				

1. Are there children under 18 years of age living here? Yes___ No_____

1a. How many?_____

1b. How old are they? ___'___'___'___'___'___'___'___'___'___'___'___'

1c. How many go to school here in this community?_____

INTERVIEWER: (For interviews not taken, please indicate reason below)

REASON FOR NOT TAKING INTERVIEW: Refusal_____

HV - House Vacant_____

Not-at-Home_____

Not a Dwelling_____

Ineligible Respondent___

(PHASE I)

COMMUNITY ATTITUDES AND VOLUNTARY URBAN RELOCATION
SURVEY

URC -- PROJECT # 0003
TSU- HGAC Cooperative

January, 1973
Interview No._____

CLUSTER NO._____

Case Number:_____

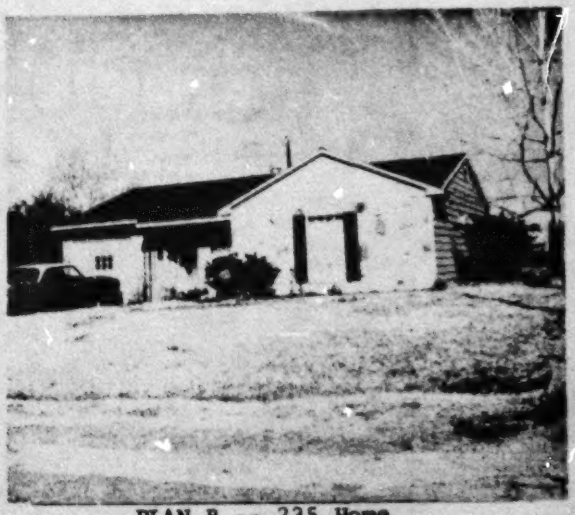
PROJECT SUPERVISOR:

INTRODUCTION: Hello! We are conducting a survey in this neighborhood to determine the housing needs of residents and their attitudes toward low cost housing. Your name is among the group of people selected to be included in the survey. If you will give me a few minutes of your time I would appreciate it very much. All information given will be kept strictly confidential.

1. Generally, how do you feel about low-cost housing? (PROBE)

2. Would you be interested in a house or an apartment similar to these? (Show RESPONDENT photographs of 235-236 houses)

PLAN A --- 235 Home



PLAN B -- 235 Home

Interview Schedule
Page 2

PLAN C -- 236 Housing

PLAN D -- 236 Housing

2a. (OBSERVE AND RECORD REACTIONS) Ask: Which would you prefer? (Check)

235 PLAN_____0 236 PLAN_____1 Other (Indicate)_____2

2b. Would you say that you are strongly interested in this house, mildly, interested, or not interested at all?

Strongly_____0
Mildly_____1
Not Interested__2

3. Do you own your home?

Owns_____0
Renting_____1
Buying_____2
Other_____3

4. (If Renting or Buying) What is your monthly payment?

Less than $60_____0
$60 - 79_____1
80 - 99_____2
100 -119_____3
120 -139_____4
140 -159_____5
160 -179_____6
180 & Over_____7

4a. How much would you be willing to pay for a house?

Less than $15,000_____0
$15,000 - 17,999_____1
18,000 - 19,999_____2
20,000 - 21,999_____3
22,000 & Over_____4

88

5. If you had to move, would you be interested in public housing or private housing?

Public housing_____0
Private housing_____1

6. (If Public Housing) Which type?

Single family dwelling_____0
Multi-family or apts._____1

7. How convenient is the location of this neighborhood to other places you like to go like stores, schools, churches, and so forth? Would you say it is convenient, fairly convenient, or not convenient?

0	1	2
Very Convenient	Fairly Convenient	Not Convenient

8. How convenient is this neighborhood to your (or Head's) place of work? Would you say it is convenient, fairly convenient, or not convenient?

0	1	2
Very Convenient	Fairly Convenient	Not Convenient

9. Thinking of your family and close friends, do they all live here in this neighborhood, most live here, only a few live here, or none live here?

0	1	2	3
All Live Here	Most Live Here	Only a Few Live Here	None Live Here

10. I have some words which I would like to use to describe this neighborhood. Tell me which ones you think best describes this neighborhood.

	YES (0)	NO (1)
(11) Noisy	_____	_____
(12) Quiet	_____	_____
(13) Well kept up	_____	_____
(14) Poorly kept up	_____	_____
(15) Crowded	_____	_____
(16) Not crowded	_____	_____
(17) Attractive bldgs.	_____	_____
(18) Unattractive bldgs.	_____	_____

19. Do you think U. Renewal would be beneficial to this community or not?

Beneficial_____0 Not Beneficial_____1 Don't Know_____2

20. If you could do as you please, would you live in an apartment (multi-family dwelling) or a single house? Would you strongly prefer it or moderately prefer it?

Strongly prefer an apartment_____0
Moderately prefer an apartment____1
Have no preference_____2
Moderately prefer a single house___3
Strongly prefer a single house____4

Why? (PROBE)

20a. Would you have any problems if you wanted to Move? Yes__0 No__1
(If yes) Why?

21. If you could do as you please, would you like to live closer to the center of Houston or farther from the central city or just where you are?

Closer to the center___0 Farther from center__1 Just where I am__2

22. Tell me how you feel about this neighborhood and relocating or moving to another part of the city. (PROBE)

How do you feel about this neighborhood?

Would you relocate voluntarily? Why or why not?

COMMUNITY ATTITUDES AND URBAN VOLUNTARY
RELOCATION -- Page 4-A

22a. Have you ever heard of 235-236 housing? (PROBE) (Check) 235___ 236___

22b. If so, why haven't you taken advantage of it? (PROBE)

22c. If you have not heard about 235-236 housing, what is your feeling about it? (NOTE: Interviewer should explain both programs to the respondent. Then, PROBE for specifics.)

22d. Are you interested in 235-236 housing? Interested__0 Not interested__1

22e. Do you see any advantages in living where you are now? Yes__0 No___1
(If yes, explain)-

23. Do you own your home? Other property? Live in this neighborhood?

Own home and live in neighborhood_____0
Own home but do not live in neighborhood_____1
Buying home, live in neighborhood_____2
Buying home, do not live in neighborhood_____3
Renting_____4
Own property, live in neighborhood_____5
Own property, not live in neighborhood_____6

24. If homeowner, what is the estimated value of home or other property?

Less than $4,000_____0
$4,000 - 7,999_____1
8,000 -11,999_____2
12,000 -15,999_____3
16,000 -19,999_____4
20,000 and Over_____5

25. If roomer, how much is your monthly payments? (NOTE: INCLUDE THOSE BUYING ALSO).

Less than $50_____0
$50 - 69_____1
70 - 89_____2
90 -199_____3
$200 and Over_____4

26. Comparing what you are spending now, would you be willing to spend more or less for a house like this or a better one? (Show picture)

	More (0)	Less (1)
House like this	_____	_____
Better One	_____	_____

DESCRIPTIVE DATA:

Name_____ Address:_____

Telephone Number:_____ Length of Time in Neighborhood: (27) COL.

Length of Time in Houston: (28) COL.
Less than 5 years_____0
5 - 9 Years_____1
10 - 14 Years_____2
15 - 19 Years_____3
20 Years and Over_____4

Less than one year_____0
One to four years_____1
5-9 Years_____2
10-14 Years_____3
15-19 Years_____4
20 Years and Over_____5

29. MARITAL STATUS:
- Single 0
- Married 2
- Widow (er) 3
- Separated 4
- Divorced 5

30. RACE:
- Black 0
- White 1
- M-A 2
- Other 3

31. SEX:
- Male 0
- Female 1

NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN FAMILY: (32) COL.
- One 1
- 2 - 4 2
- 5 and Over 3

FAMILY INCOME: (33) COL. (Household)
- Under $2,000 0
- $2,000 - 3,999 1
- 4,000 - 5,999 2
- 6,000 - 7,999 3
- 8,000 - 9,999 4
- $10,000 & Over 5
- Refusal/NA 6

34. EDUCATION:
- 8 years or less 0
- Some H. S. 1
- H. S. Graduate 2
- Some College 3
- College Graduate 4
- More than 4 years college 5
- Tech./Prof. School 6
- No response 7

35. OCCUPATION:
- Prof., Tech., and Kindred 0
- Bus., Mgrs., Official, Prop. 1
- Clerical and Sales Workers 2
- Craftsmen, foremen, kindred 3
- Operatives and kindred 4
- Unskilled, Service, and Domestic Workers 5
- Retired 6
- Unemployed 7

BY OBSERVATION:

36. Neighborhood: Look at 3 structures on each side of DU (Dwelling Unit) but not more than 100 yards or so in both directions and check as many boxes as may apply below:

	YES (0)	NO (1)
VACANT LAND ONLY		
37. Detached family house		
38. 2 family house, 2 units side by side		
39. 2 family house, units above the other		
40. Detached 3-4 family house		
41. Row house (3 or more units in attached row)		
42. Apartment House (5 or more units, 3 stories or less)		
43. Apartment House (5 or more units, 4 stories or more)		

	YES (0)	NO(1)
44. Apartment in a partly commercial structure	_____	_____
45. Wholly commercial or industrial structure	_____	_____
46. Other (Specify)	_____	_____

FURTHER OBSERVATIONS: _____

_____

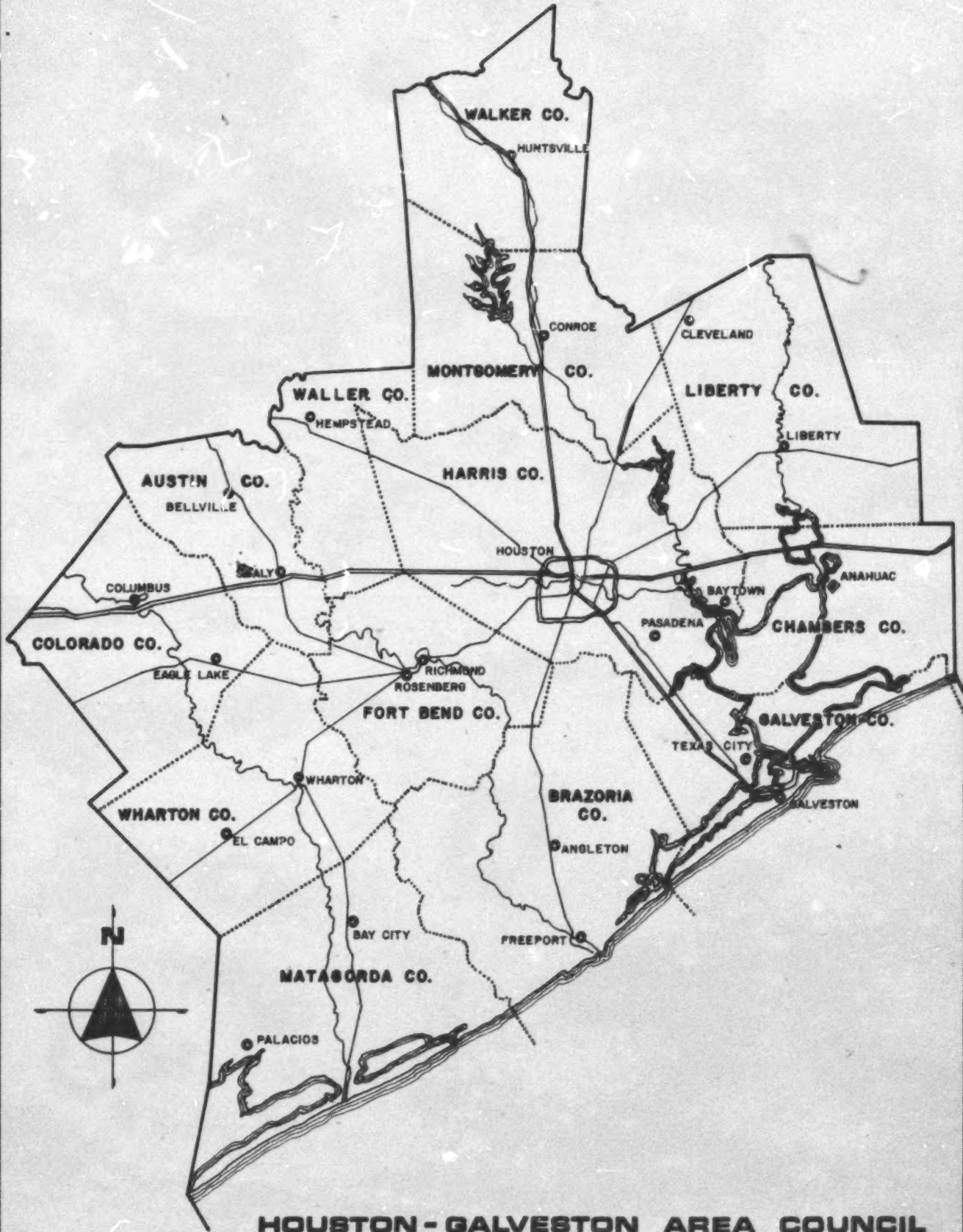
_____

_____

_____

_____

THUMBNAIL SKETCH (Write a general summary of the opinions expressed by the interviewee. Include your observations concerning the condition of the dwelling, the neighborhood, and other significant things related to urban renewal or relocation).



HOUSTON - GALVESTON AREA COUNCIL